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NATO Figures on Conventional Arms Refuted

PM281216 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Jan 88 Second Edition p 3

[Candidate of Technical Sciences Colonel V. Chernyshev article: "On Imbalances and Asymmetry: What Statements on Warsaw Pact 'Superiority' Over NATO in Conventional Arms Are Worth"—boldface as published]

[Text] The signing of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles places the question of conventional arms and armed forces near the top of the list of European security problems. In this context it should be noted that for more than 30 years now, NATO has been fanning the myth of the "Soviet military threat," an integral part of which is the allegation of the supposed superiority, an "overwhelming" superiority at that, of the Warsaw Pact over the North Atlantic bloc in the sphere of conventional arms and armed forces. "It has become a kind of 'ritual,'" the West German magazine DER SPIEGEL notes, "and if anyone expresses doubt as to the existence of such a threat, he is simply flouting the 'articles of faith.'"

Again and again official representatives of NATO bloc countries, making statements about the Warsaw Pact's "superiority" over NATO, continue to try to use groundless arguments, or, to put it more simply, to play marked cards. The methods used themselves give rise to doubts as to the correctness of Western calculations. For instance, they unjustifiably exclude the armed forces of France and Spain, whose "contribution" to the balance of forces is very substantial: 1 million servicemen, 20 divisions, 2,000 tanks, 3,000 artillery guns and mortars, 900 planes, 450 helicopters, and so forth.

These methods do not take into account a whole series of very important factors of a geographical, military-economic, and strategic nature. They use highly contradictory statistical data. If you compare the data in the Pentagon's brochure "Soviet Military Power" with a similar NATO publication, significant differences are revealed even in the estimates of the bloc's own armaments. According to the NATO figures, they have only 13,470 tanks deployed in combat units and formations. But the Pentagon thinks NATO has 24,250 tanks, of which 19,600 are deployed. In this connection the question arises: Can you trust estimates of the numerical strength of the other side's armaments from someone who cannot or will not even count his own weapons correctly?

What lies behind the statements of Warsaw Pact "superiority" over NATO in conventional arms? Let us try to get to the bottom of this question, taking into account both the Soviet viewpoint and the concrete opinions of Western experts, and in some cases the estimates of the U.S. Defense Department.

The numerical strength of the personnel of NATO and Warsaw Pact Armed Forces is approximately the same for both the military-political alliances. It should be noted that official Pentagon publications cite patently distorted data: The Warsaw Pact supposedly has 6 million men (including 4 million regular troops), while NATO has only 4.5 million (2.6 million regulars). But representatives of countries of the North Atlantic alliance themselves reject attempts to make out that the Warsaw Pact has superiority in this sphere. For instance, P. Nitze, special adviser to the U.S. President on arms control, stated in Congress: "As for the numbers of armed forces personnel, this aspect is not a sphere in which the Soviet Union or the Warsaw Pact countries have superiority. The number of servicemen in the NATO countries is approximately the same as on the Warsaw Pact side.

Charles Thomas, U.S. deputy assistant secretary of state for European and Canadian affairs, confirmed at a briefing in Washington on 7 December 1987 that in terms of numbers of personnel of combat units and reserves, NATO and the Warsaw Pact are roughly equal.

On 5 December 1987, THE WASHINGTON POST, citing the London International Institute of Strategic Studies, quoted the following figures on armed forces personnel numbers: 2,385,000 (NATO) and 2,292,000 (Warsaw Pact) in regular troops; 4,371,000 (NATO) and 4,276,000 (Warsaw Pact) in reserve contingents. Even these figures indicate an approximate equality in the sides' personnel numbers in both regular troops and reserves. But as far as reserve contingents are concerned, here, the Western press believes, the superiority should be on the side of the North Atlantic alliance, since the population of the NATO countries is almost 50% higher than that of the Warsaw Pact states.

Number of divisions—this is the factor most often used to "inspire terror" in the NATO countries. The annual "Soviet Military Power" cites figures according to which the Warsaw Pact has 202 divisions and NATO 121. According to Western representatives' statements, this is one indication of the Warsaw Pact's "aggressiveness." However, if you do not look at the figures on the number of divisions in the abstract, in isolation from other factors, the question arises: Is the difference in the number of divisions significant, if the total number of personnel is approximately the same on both sides?

A natural question. Especially since it is well-known that the personnel numbers of divisions themselves are not the same in different states' armed forces. For instance, a deployed American division numbers 16,000-19,000 men, and an FRG division even more—over 23,000, while the divisions of the Warsaw Pact countries' armies have a maximum of 11,000-12,000 men.

But that is not the most important thing. A clear idea of the correlation of the sides' arms and armed forces is provided not by the total number of divisions, but by the

number of combat-ready formations. And that means combat-ready, at full strength, because they alone could be used to unleash hostilities without additional mobilization measures. Not so long ago, NATO military strategists, THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE newspaper reported, "amended" downward their estimate of the number of combat-ready divisions of the Warsaw Pact countries' armies, to 115. But even this "new" estimate does not correspond to reality: In fact, the Warsaw Pact has 78 such divisions. NATO (including France and Spain, as well as some 60 combat-ready brigades) has 94 combat-ready divisions.

Tanks. Western strategists often base their conjectures about Warsaw Pact superiority in conventional arms on the correlation of the number of tanks belonging to the opposing alliances. Thus the Pentagon brochure claims that the Warsaw Pact has 33,000 tanks deployed in Europe. In all, they say, taking into account stockpiles, the Warsaw Pact has 49,000 tanks.

Let us leave these figures to the conscience of the authors of the Pentagon brochure. But let us draw attention to their counting of NATO's tanks: In declaring that the bloc has 24,250 tanks, they are patently sinning against the truth, since if full account is taken of stockpiles of tanks in Europe, and the French and Spanish tanks are also counted, it turns out that NATO has more than 30,000 tanks. This means the imbalance in this sphere is not as great as the U.S. Administration and NATO leadership try to make out.

Attention should also be drawn to a number of other factors. Thus the well-known French military expert, retired Vice Admiral A. Sanguinetti, believes that a very considerable proportion of the tank pool of the Warsaw Pact countries' armies is made up of obsolete models of combat vehicles. In the opinion of Western experts, the USSR Armed Forces have fewer tanks than the number of equivalent West German Leopard tanks (6,000) and U.S. M-1's (4,800) in the NATO countries' armies.

In the capitals of the North Atlantic bloc countries, they also note that the NATO military-political leadership is itself making no effort to make up the numerical "lag" in the sphere of tanks which it supposedly so "regrets." "It is not a question of figures," U.S. General Starry, a leading expert in the sphere of the strategy of utilization of U.S. tank forces, said in a NEW YORK TIMES interview in July 1987. "They (the Warsaw Pact—V.Ch.) have always outstripped us in numerical terms, but we acted on the basis that a numerical lag can be compensated for to some degree by technical superiority."

Tactical aircraft. In this sphere NATO has substantial superiority over the Warsaw Pact. Even according to the official figures cited in the brochure "Soviet Military Power," which do not take into account French and Spanish aircraft, the ratio is 1.5 to 1.0 in favor of NATO. It emerges from this brochure that the Warsaw Pact has 2,300 fighter-bombers and assault aircraft, while NATO has 3,450. A similar situation can be observed in the sphere of helicopters: NATO has 1,250 combat helicopters (the Warsaw Pact has 950) and 6,000 fire support helicopters and transport helicopters (the Warsaw Pact has 1,950). If you take into account the French and Spanish tactical aircraft and helicopters, then naturally the correlation of forces in these spheres inclines even more toward the North Atlantic bloc.

"In aircraft—and in this sphere the correlation of forces is of the greatest significance, since one-half of NATO's fire power is air-based—the West's superiority is particularly marked," the U.S. newspaper CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR wrote on 5 November 1986. "And it is not only a question of the number of fighter-bombers and assault aircraft, but also of their armaments: In particular, the tonnage of bombs for operations within a 320-km radius is seven times higher for the NATO aircraft pool than for the Warsaw Pact."

The fact of the overall superiority of the NATO air forces over the Warsaw Pact air forces was acknowledged in the U.S. defense secretary's report to Congress on the military budget for fiscal 1986, which noted that for a long time now the American Air Force has been superior to the Soviet Air Force in combat potential.

We have cited only a few particularly characteristic indicators of the correlation of the conventional arms and armed forces of the two military-political alliances. To be really objective, in analyzing the correlation of forces it is necessary to take a comprehensive view of military potential. In this case it becomes clear that in the sphere of conventional arms and armed forces, approximate equality exists between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, as many competent Western experts note.

Naturally, equilibrium does not mean complete, symmetrical equality in the individual components of the sides' military might. The alliances' armed forces are highly diverse and heterogeneous, their structure and organization are different, since they have developed in different ways, in the light of geography, historical traditions, assessments of the military-strategic situation, and so forth. In the conditions of an overall approximate equality there exists an asymmetry (imbalance) in certain partial indicators, in some cases in favor of NATO and in others in favor of the Warsaw Pact. But if you take comprehensive assessments rather than selective ones, there can be only one conclusion—the combat potential of the NATO armed forces groupings is approximately equal to the combat potential of the Warsaw Pact states' groupings of forces.

Nonetheless, even the existing equilibrium of forces in Europe does not suit the socialist countries, and therefore they do everything possible to lower as far as possible the level of military-strategic parity and reduce military potentials to the limits of sufficiency necessary for defense.

"We are told that the imbalance, the asymmetry of forces between the Warsaw Pact and NATO causes concern to the West Europeans," M.S. Gorbachev stated at a dinner in honor of M. Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. "But concern is also felt by the peoples in the East of Europe, who remember vividly the death and destruction inflicted on us by an onslaught from a westerly direction especially since the asymmetry is by no means one-sided. We are prepared to reduce those arms where we have superiority, but we expect precisely the same approach from the NATO members where the imbalance is in their favor.

"In matters of security, you cannot use guile, you cannot work on the basis solely of securing unilateral advantages. Here you can only operate on the basis of reciprocity and identical security."

Arbatov Cited on Soviet 'Superpower' Role, INF

PM281541 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 22 Jan 88 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Carlsson-Caputo: Talks on the Hagelin Case"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The six-nation meeting must make concrete proposals for further nuclear and conventional disarmament. Otherwise, there is no point at all in meeting.

According to TIDNINGARNAS TELEGRAMBYRA, this is the view of the 30 or so international personalities who have been invited to the six-nation meeting by the Swedish Government. The group is not taking part in the talks, but is viewed as a sort of pressure group.

"We do not view ourselves as a superpower," said Georgiy Arbatov, who is not entirely unknown in Sweden, at a luncheon yesterday.

"No matter what you may think about us who are invested with 'super power,' we are nevertheless not more than 10% of mankind," Arbatov said.

As a Central Committee member and director of the Soviet Union's USA and Canada Institute, he is often a mouthpiece on security issues.

"Since the summit and the INF Treaty, things have started to move," Arbatov said. "But the treaty is not worth much if it is an isolated phenomenon. The superpowers must be subjected to pressure. The treaty must be followed by agreements in the nuclear field and, more importantly, on conventional arms."

On INF Accord

PM281545 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 22 Jan 88 p 17

[Barbro Hultman "Famous Names" column report: "High-Ranking Guests Met With Open Arms"]

[Excerpt] [Introductory passage omitted] Georgiy Arbatov, CPSU Central Committee member and head of the United States and Canada Institute, was one of the least formal guests, at least as far as his clothes were concerned. A bright pink-and-white-striped collar was visible under his sweater.

He also caused general laughter when he answered a question about the psychology of enmity, with a reassurance that the Russians are doing what they can to disarm the Americans in this area.

He grew considerably more serious when the question of whether six-nation meetings like the one taking place in Stockholm have any meaning after the Soviet-U.S. treaty in Washington was raised.

"I hope it will not be an isolated episode in history but a step in developments toward disarmament," Georgiy Arbatov said.

"We must not forget that the two superpowers represent only a small section of the peoples of the world. Two large states have no right to make decisions that affect all of them; they just have a great responsibility. Both the Soviet Union and the United States need to be put under pressure by the six-nation group. I am very excited about what the group will arrive at in Stockholm."

As far as the decision on gradual reductions in arms arsenals are concerned, Arbatov ended by saying:

"We are doing the best we can. Personally, I believe in a rapid breakthrough." [passage omitted]

Zhukov Gives Views on INF Ratification

PM281109 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jan 88 Second Edition p 5

[Article by Political Observer Yuriy Zhukov, USSR Supreme Soviet deputy, under the "Viewpoint" rubric: "Crucial Stage"]

[Text] The discussion of the question of the ratification of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles signed during the summit meeting in Washington has begun in the USSR Supreme Soviet. In accordance with a decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium it has been passed on for preliminary examination to the Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities foreign affairs commissions.

The commissions will prepare the relevant conclusion after which the Supreme Soviet Presidium will take a decision on the question of ratification.

At the same time the U.S. Senate is embarking on the examination of the treaty. The relevant hearings have begun in its foreign relations, armed services, and intelligence committees.

Naturally, the two sides' top state organs will carefully examine all aspects of the treaty and the documents relating to it. All viewpoints expressed with regard to the treaty, including the assessments of experts, will be considered. Here, it seems to me, it will be very important to familiarize ourselves with the assessments of the foreign ministers and defense ministers. In our country, work on preparation for the ratification will naturally proceed under conditions of the broadest glasnost.

The entire world public will follow with close attention the progress of the crucial debates which have begun. After all the development of the entire subsequent process of nuclear disarmament and the consolidation of the peoples' security will depend to a considerable extent on the implementation of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

At first glance it may seem that the elaboration and signing of this document have already predetermined the further development of this process, especially since the overwhelming majority of Soviet people and Americans welcomed it. But we should not underestimate the maneuvers which have already been begun with the blessing of the military-industrial complex by representatives of the extreme right wing of the U.S. Senate, which have set themselves the goal of "killing" the treaty at any price.

"The true correlation of forces is determined not by who is for the treaty and who is against it," Alan Cranston, deputy leader of the Senate Democratic majority, warns. "It is determined by how people vote on the 'killer-amendments.' I am seeking to get a promise from the majority of senators that they will oppose the 'killer-amendments.' We are close to the goal, but we have not yet reached it."

The point is that two-thirds of the votes are needed for the ratification of the treaty in the Senate but a simple majority would be enough for the adoption of amendments—for instance the amendments stipulating that "the treaty be returned to the governments for reworking," or that its implementation be made conditional on unacceptable "linkages" with questions which have nothing to do with nuclear disarmament. And already, as Cranston himself has said, up to 100 (!) proposals on amendments have been prepared in the Senate.

Meanwhile, the Pentagon and its NATO stooges are rushing to draft a program to "compensate" for the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles envisaged by the treaty. As THE NEW YORK TIMES reported 23 January, as soon as it became clear that the treaty could be signed, they prepared a plan which provides for an increase (!) in Europe of nuclear arms capable of replacing the eliminated missiles.

All these plans advertised by U.S. propaganda are naturally a guarded attitude among Soviet people, and the USSR Supreme Soviet deputies who are members of the foreign affairs commissions will have to take this into account when they draft their conclusions. We will follow attentively the progress of the treaty's examination in the Senate.

To what, for instance, should I personally, as a member of the Soviet of Nationalities foreign commission, pay attention primarily? To ensuring that the treaty is ratified by both the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the U.S. Senate in exactly the same spirit in which it was signed—without any amendments to enfeeble it.

That is precisely what our voters demand in their letters. The mail now arriving in the PRAVDA editorial office and the USSR Supreme Soviet abounds with demands that no loopholes should be left enabling the opponents of nuclear disarmament to undermine the meaning and significance of the treaty.

"I and those who think like me are in favor of the agreement, but an agreement whereby the principle of equal security is not violated," N. Kapitanov writes from Vilnius. "Are the measures elaborated for the verification of the fulfillment of the treaty sufficient? Has everything been done to prevent the circumvention of the accords which have been adopted?" V. Postoyev from Sverdlovsk asks. "I would like to hope that the U.S. Senate will not only support the treaty but will also demand that the U.S. Government should not engage in 'compensating' for the eliminated missiles but should embark as rapidly as possible on an accord on further nuclear disarmament. The planet is tired of the nuclear race," state the Bogdanovs—a mother and her 17-year-old daughter—from Moscow.

The number of these letters is increasing with every passing day. Soviet people, who warmly welcomed the signing of the treaty, are expressing the conviction that our government will scrupulously observe it if it is ratified by both sides and enters into force. But so far they lack this conviction that the United States will also act in this way. News of subversive actions by the treaty's enemies in the Senate and of the Pentagon's "compensation" plans seriously perturb them. Especially since we can all remember the history of a whole series of treaties, in particular the SALT II, which the United States has repudiated.

I still think that ultimately common sense will conquer the vestiges of the old thinking and then the two supreme organs of the USSR and the United States—the Supreme Soviet and the Senate—will give legal force to the treaty and give the go-ahead to further steps along the path of nuclear disarmament.

Pugwash Discussion of CW Prohibition Problems

PM280923 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Interview with Academician N.S. Yenikolopov by own correspondent Yu. Kosinskiy under the "IZVESTIYA Interviews" rubric: "Scientists' Opinion"]

[Excerpt] Geneva—The 13th session of the Pugwash working group on chemical weapons has been held in Geneva. At the same time as the main provisions of a draft convention on the complete banning and destruction of chemical weapons are being agreed at the Palais des Nations within the framework of the disarmament conference here, around 70 experts from the Pugwash working group representing more than 20 countries have been looking further than that and discussing questions to do with the fulfillment of those main provisions. Your correspondent asked participants in the session, whose meetings are attended only by experts, to describe its work to our readers.

Academician N.S. Yenikolopov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Synthetic Polymers:

Just like 1 year ago, we discussed at the session one of the key questions connected with the banning of chemical weapons: ensuring effective international verification of the cessation of production. But whereas at the previous session many delegates spoke in hypothetical terms about the feasibility of banning chemical weapons, now virtually everyone believes it is feasible. This is undoubtedly due to the positive influence of the Soviet-U.S. accords on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. None of the delegates at the session tried to deny the feasibility of banning chemical weapons, although some doubts have been expressed by Western countries' representatives about the feasibility of ensuring effective international verification of the prevention of production.

It was noticeable that some delegates, on the pretext of protecting their advanced technological "know-how" in chemicals production, wanted to reject rigid verification or to delay its introduction. But the general tone of the conversations was businesslike and serious, and great interest was aroused by the Soviet chemists' speeches. We managed to convince our Western opponents that by using modern expertise in the chemicals sphere, technology, and in particular instruments for quantitative analytical research it is possible to determine whether chemical weapons are being produced at enterprises.

Since the beginning of the production of a new generation of chemical weapons—binary weapons—by the Americans, questions of verification have become increasingly acute and significant. The individual components of binary weapons are not in themselves exceptionally toxic chemicals. Their production does not require special equipment or special means of protection. And this makes it possible to introduce the production of binary components in conventional industry, for example, in the production of pharmaceuticals or agricultural fertilizers, which makes the solution of the problem of effective verification more difficult. [passage omitted]

Arms Reduction Talks Open in Vienna

LD281508 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1047 GMT28 Jan 88

[Text] Vienna, 28 January (TASS)—A regular round of the Vienna talks on mutual reduction in armed forces and armaments in Central Europe opened here today. V.V. Mikhaylov, the head of the USSR delegation, spoke at the session representing the socialist countries. M. Shenston, head of the Canadian delegation, spoke on behalf of the Western participants in the talks.

Sychev on Socialist 'Economic Transformation'
LD282037 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1100 GMT 9 Jan 88

[Interview with CEMA secretary Vyacheslav Vladimirovich Sychev by announcer Valeriy Korzin, from the "Community" program; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Korzin] Of course, all socialist countries need to strengthen and enrich our cooperation. This is what we wanted to talk to you about, Vyacheslav Vladimirovich, guest on our program, CEMA Secretary Vyacheslav Vladimirovich Sychev.

Vyacheslav Vladimirovich, virtually all the socialist countries have now embarked on a road of economic reform, economic transformation. Naturally, this could not fail to be reflected in CEMA's work, too. People say that CEMA, under present conditions, should be more specific, more effective, and we would like to hear what has been achieved in this direction.

[Sychev] In October last year, mid-October, the 43d extraordinary sitting of a CEMA session was held; it considered one issue. There was only one item on the agenda: restructuring the mechanism of multilateral cooperation and socialist economic integration and CEMA's activities.

A couple of words about why this issue came up and why it was necessary to consider this problem in great detail: the greater its volume and the deeper cooperation between the socialist countries becomes, the more complicated, naturally, is the task faced by the cooperation mechanism used to put our cooperation into practice. The cooperation mechanism that was in effect in CEMA for many years—and this year the CEMA marked 39 years of existence—and which has suited us for many years needs radical improvement under present conditions, conditions in which we have more and more cooperation.

[Korzin] What are considered to be the most important changes in the mechanism?

[Sychev] The 43d session, the extraordinary—I stress—session, that was held in October, made a whole number of very important decisions. I think it is no exaggeration if I say this session will occupy a very special place in the CEMA's history. I'll talk very briefly about several of the main aspects of those very important decisions that were made.

It was decided unanimously to draw up a collective concept of the international socialist division of labor for the period from 1991, that is, the start of the next 5-year period, to 2005.

[Korzin] Is this a purely theoretical matter, or a practical one?

[Sychev] This is a matter of very great practical importance, it is a question of coordinating the economic, scientific, and technological policy of CEMA member countries, a question of specialization and cooperation in production. It is the widest spectrum of all the problems of our economic cooperation.

The next very important matter considered at the CEMA session: very great attention in CEMA activity concerns refining cooperation among the European members of CEMA and our three non-European fraternal countries that are less developed in economic terms—Vietnam, Cuba, and Mongolia. For the first itme in CEMA history, for the first time in CEMA practice, it has been decided to draw up special integrated programs for multilateral cooperation between the European CEMA member countries and these countries, with the aim of accelerating the process of gradual equalization of the economic development levels of the CEMA member countries and, in respect of these three countries, of raising their economic development levels to the level of the European CEMA member countries.

The next very important issue that was decided at this session was this: Over many 5-year periods coordination of plans has been the main instrument for coordinating the economic policy of CEMA member countries in the fields linked through reciprocal cooperation. Every 5-year period, 2 or 3 years before the start of the next 5-year period, the 5-year plans of the CEMA member countries are coordinated. The 43d session decided on the need for radical improvement of this very important instrument of our cooperation. From now on, coordination of the CEMA member countries' plans is to be concentrated on dealing with the most important, priority tasks of our cooperation.

The decisions of the extraordinary session paid very great attention to such problems as refining price-setting. We are now paying very great attention to developing direct ties. The transfer to widespread development of direct ties raises the question of price-setting on an entirely new scale.

[Korzin] I have spoken to many enterprise directors, and they say the first thing inhibiting cooperation at this, let us say, lower level, at the enterprise level, is the question of price-setting.

[Sychev] Well, I can say a few words about this: Generally speaking, for many years now a principle agreed at the ninth CEMA session has operated in the reciprocal trade of the CEMA member countries, a principle that has fully justified itself throughout the history of our mutual relations, a very simple principle. When prices are being set for any commodity, for any piece of machinery or equipment, in reciprocal trade, in mutual relations, we proceed on the basis of world prices for this commodity, averaged out over the preceding 5 years.

How are prices fixed for goods supplied within a coproduction framework? There is no such concept as international prices, prices on the international market for goods supplied on a coproduction basis. Figures are not published by those transnational corporations that put such coproduction into practice internally. Therefore, naturally, here this problem can only be solved by establishing so-called contractual prices, that is, by agreement between the participants in that process and, of course, there is still a great deal to be worked on here.

Problems that need improving pertaining to our monetary-finance and credit instrument of cooperation were also considered. A number of important decisions were made on improving the contract law foundations of our cooperation. Very important decisions were made on restructuring the activities of the CEMA itself as the headquarters of socialist economic integration and this, very briefly, is a very compressed form, is the range of issues that were the subject of consideration at the 43d extraordinary CEMA session.

[Korzin] That is, we can say that in its 39th year CEMA is entering a new phase of work and development.

[Zychev] Undoubtedly, undoubtedly.

[Korzin] Vyacheslav Vladimirovich, thank you for the pithy and interesting conversation. Our program is devoted specifically to the cooperation of socialist countries, that is one of the main issues, and we will probably meet you again more than once.

[Sychev] Thank you.

CEMA Electronic Technology Committee Organized
PM281535 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the "Official Reports" rubric]

[Text] The constituent session of the CEMA Committee on Cooperation in the Sphere of the Application of Electronic Technology [elektronizatsiya] organized in accordance with the resolutions adopted by the sitting of the council's 43d (extraordinary) session took place in Moscow 20-21 January.

Representatives of the following CEMA countries took part in the session: Bulgaria, Hungary, the SRV, the GDR, the Republic of Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the USSR, and the CSSR.

A representative of the Yugoslav Economic Chamber also took part in the session.

The draft statute on the committee and draft structure for the working organs were examined and the work plan for 1988-1989 was approved. Special attention was devoted to questions of implementing the most important tasks of comprehensive cooperation the application of electronic technology stemming from the decisions of the CEMA economic summit and the Comprehensive Program for the CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000.

Yu.D. Maslyukov, USSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman, chaired the session.

Hanoi CEMA Minsters Forum Brings Protocol
PM271015 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Conference Has Ended"]

[Text] Hanoi, 25 Jan—The 20th (concluding) session of the CEMA countries' internal trade ministers conference was held 20 through 25 January in Vietnam. The protocol signed on its results and the speeches of the participants gave an assessment of cooperation in this field and outlined ways of enhancing its effectiveness in accordance with the course put forward at the 43d (extraordinary) CEMA session toward restructuring multilateral collaboration. The session defined the main avenues for the expansion of cooperation with Vietnam on a bilateral basis in internal trade.

The session participants were received by Pham Hung, Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee Politburo member and SRV Council of Ministers chairman, who assessed highly the results of the conference, which has become an important contribution to the improvement of multifaceted collaboration in this field within the CEMA framework. The Vietnamese leader voiced the conviction that cooperation with the USSR and the other socialist countries will continue to promote the successful solution of the tasks of Vietnam's national economic development.

Pact Information Group Meets in Warsaw
LD201534 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1210 GMT 20 Jan 88

[Text] Warsaw, 20 Jan (TASS)—A routine meeting of the multilateral group for operative mutual information comprising of the Warsaw Pact member states' representatives took place in Warsaw 19-20 January. An exchange of information and views on some topical international issues occurred at the meeting. Jan Majewski, Polish People's Republic deputy foreign minister, met the participants of the meeting.

Gerasimov on UK Antitank Brigade Formation

LD281821 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 28 Jan 88

[Excerpts] There was a briefing in on current international issues at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Press Center in Moscow today, conducted by Gerasimov, head of the Information Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In assessing a number of recent events, he commented on President Reagan's speech on ratification of the treaty scrapping intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. He also spoke of Soviet aid to the people of Ethiopia. As you know, that country is now experiencing a severe drought. Comrade Gerasimov drew attention to the political conference of the Cocom member countries—the body controlling trade with the socialist countries—in Versailles. [passage omitted]

Another matter also came up at the briefing, and this is how Gennadiy Ivanovich Gerasimov addressed it with his natural sense of humor:

[Begin recording] The BBC and Deutsche Welle have reported that a special military brigade is being created in Britain in case of a Soviet tank invasion. We can only welcome such a turn of events: The thing is that the threat of Soviet tanks has always been an integral part and, perhaps, the main part of the theory of the Soviet threat to Western Europe. These tanks have been invested with exceptional running and combat qualities. For example, Hackett's book "The Third World War" was popular in Britain several years ago. In this, the tanks reached the Channel in hours.

It is possible the creation of a special antitank British military brigade will put an end to this kind of apprehension, because of course now that this brigade now exists, there can be no question of any tank drive to the Channel, so calm may reign in Europe. [end recording]

U.S. Works To 'Toughen' COCOM Export Rules

LD281945 Moscow TASS in English 1917 GMT 28 Jan 88

[Text] Paris January 28 TASS—TASS correspondent Yuriy Lopatin reports:

A two-day political conference of member countries of the Coordinating Committee on Export Controls (COCOM) ended today in Versailles, near Paris. It was attended by representatives of NATO countries (with the exception of Iceland) and Japan.

The conference was held in conditions of top secrecy. According to the information that leaked from behind the closed doors, the United States brought pressure to bear on its partners with the aim to toughen the COCOM rules that limit the export of so-called 'strategic' materials and advanced technology to the USSR and other socialist countries. In this way it tried to revive that organization created at the time when the 'cold war' had been at its height, and to use it as a barrier on the way of international trade and economic cooperation that began to expand recently.

According to local observers, those actions of Washington are at variance with recommendations of the Final Act of the Helsinki conference and with the agreements reached as a result of the recent Soviet-American summit meeting. They point out that under the cover of 'concern for Western security' the U.S. was trying to create for its rivals from capitalist countries additional difficulties in the world market by reducing their exports to socialist countries.

Local mass media organs report that the U.S. intrigues came up in Versailles against tough resistance of many partners, especially those from Western Europe, specifically, West Germany, France, Italy, Spain and Greece. The FRANCE PRESSE NEWS AGENCY quoted well-informed European sources as saying that at the end of a long discussion a compromise had been reached at the conference. Washington had to meet its partners halfway and to agree to a certain reduction of the lists of commodities not to be exported to socialist countries in the part that deals with the goods of secondary importance and the technology which is not most up-to-date. In exchange Washington made its partners agree to the toughening of control over the export of the notorious "strategic technology" to socialist countries.

FRG Seeks To Reduce 'Blacklist'

PM291521 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Own correspondent Yu. Kovalenko dispatch: "France: Gendarmes of COCOM"]

[Text] Paris—A conference of the Coordinating Committee for Control Over Exports to Socialist Countries (COCOM), which embraces the 15 NATO member states and also Japan, has been held in Versailles over the course of 2 days in an atmosphere of total secrecy.

According to a press report, the meeting discussed a revision of the COCOM "blacklist," which includes the names of products proscribed for export to socialist countries. One of the participants declared that it is necessary to make the control system more efficient and realistic. In other words, strike obsolete goods off the list (at one time the U.S. Administration demanded that it even include soldiers' boots, so that they should not, God forbid, fall into Soviet hands) but, at the same time, introduce tougher control over exports of the latest technology.

Serious disagreements over the COCOM "blacklist" have recently emerged between Western countries and the United States. Thus, the Paris-published American INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE points out, the FRG is seeking to expand its trade with the USSR.

The newspaper recalled that the West German ambassador to Moscow declared in an interview that the COCOM list must be significantly reduced to reflect the improved climate in East-West relations. For his part, FRG Foreign Minister Genscher recently held talks in Washington on questions of trade and proposed holding a conference on East-West economic cooperation, but the U.S. Administration is demanding as a condition a change in Soviet policy in the sphere of... human rights. The notorious linkage again!

Genscher's objections to the obstacles erected by COCOM in trade with socialist countries are shared by U.S. business circles and even officials who believe the procedure established by that organ is "clumsy and unfair." The Paris newspaper LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS calls COCOM "the gendarme of the latest technology."

During the COCOM conference the DST, French counterintelligence, reported the arrest of five French industrialists, who have been charged with delivering proscribed technologies to socialist countries. In the opinion of some observers, the DST's latest "exposures," timed to coincide with the COCOM sessions, were needed to justify the toughening of export controls and to prevent an expansion in trade and economic ties with the USSR.

The DST's new action is regarded very skeptically here. Everyone remembers its shady dealings with Soviet citizen Lyudmila Varigina and Pierre Verdier, her husband, who were charged with espionage and then released because of a total lack of evidence.

Mideast Meeting Seen as 'Sole Real' Help

LD281822 Moscow TASS in English 1738 GMT 28 Jan 88

[Text] New York January 28 TASS—It is a duty of the Security Council, the United Nations main peace-keeping body, to embark without delay on the preparation of an international conference on the Middle East that would make it possible to settle the conflict in the region with taking into account the interests of all sides. This was pointed out by participants in a debate on the situation in Israel-occupied Arab territories. The debate opened in the Security Council on Wednesday.

Support for an international conference as the sole real means of political settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict was expressed by secretary general of the Organization of the Islamic Conference Sayyed Sharifuddin Pirzada, permanent observer of the League of Arab States at the United Nations Clovis Maksoud, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the FRG to the United Nations Alexander von Wartenburg who spoke on behalf of the 12 member countries of the EEC, delegates of Brazil, Senegal, Nepal, Morocco, Egypt, Syria. France's permanent representative to the United Nations Pierre Louis Blanc emphasized that France is convinced of the need for a dialogue among the parties concerned, the most realistic road for which is opened by the convocation of an international peace conference.

The Palestinian people cannot tolerate the occupation of its lands which brings intolerable suffering to the population and leads to bloodshed, said permanent observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization to the United Nations Zuhdi Labib al-Tarazi. But he said the Israeli people has to pay an ever dearer price for the Israel authorities' policy at perpetrating the results of the aggression, annexation of occupied lands. In a long term it is only a comprehensive, fair and durable settlement of the conflict through an early convocation of an international conference with the participation of all the parties concerned, ensurance of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, Israel's departure from occupied lands that will bring long-awaited peace and security to the region.

Chazov Speaks at London AIDS Meeting

LD272250 Moscow TASS in English 2248 GMT 27 Jan 88

[Text] London January 27 TASS—TASS correspondent Andrey Biryukov reports:

The main way of preventing the spread of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) is the widening of the prevention of the disease and enlightening work. This is said by many delegates to an international meeting of health ministers on problems of preventing the spread of AIDS. The meeting underway here is attended by some 400 persons — ministers, representatives of United Nations specialised bodies, experts from 140 countries, the USSR included.

Speakers note that in conditions when medical preparations for effectively combating AIDS virus are lacking the human factor becomes extremely important. It depends on the conduct and information of man as to what AIDS is like and with what it threatens his family and finally on moral standards and responsibility of every person what scopes the spread of this disease assumes. Combating drug abuse is to play an important role since the transmission of the virus through blood in using needles is one of the likeliest ways of contamination with AIDS virus. In this connection representatives of the Scandinavian countries said that broad educational campaign conducted there among the risk groups started bearing fruit.

The delegates heard with interest a speech by USSR Minister of Health Academician Yevgeniy Chazov. He said that 33 AID virus carriers have been registered in the USSR. 18 of them had contacts with foreigners. Among the 97 thousand foreigners arriving in the USSR who underwent AIDS virus tests a serum-positive reaction was discovered in 221 persons. This is why we hold that broad tests for the virus and informing persons with

serum-positive reaction that they pose a definite threat to the health of other persons are important factors for preventing the spread of AIDS in the world, he said.

The delegates to the meeting pointed to another aspect in combatting AIDS—the role of the mass media. They said that, deplorably, cases are quite frequent when the press by its writings on AIDS causes panic and fears among the population and provokes a negative and cruel treatment of some groups of persons.

UN Information Directors Conference in Moscow

LD281755 Moscow TASS in English 1833 GMT 28 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 28 TASS—"Our meeting in the Soviet capital has been an integral part of the attempt to reorganize the U.N. Department of Public Information and the U.N. system on the whole," U.N. Under-Secretary-General Therese Paquet-Sevigny told a press conference here today.

She took part in the regional conference of U.N. information centre directors for Europe and North America, closed in Moscow today.

"The meeting became possible thanks to the Soviet Union's cordial hospitality and openness. The USSR thus demonstrated its commitment to the idea of diversity of the United Nations and various mandates of the organization which vary from issues of peace and security to self-determination, human rights and development questions," she pointed out.

"At the meeting in Moscow we discussed a broad range of issues connected with the improvement of work of the department. First of all we should step up our efforts. Modernize methods of our work and lay greater emphasis on specific actions," Therese Paquet-Sevigny said.

"We are striving to invigorate the activity of our centres and work with greater purpose. In handling current tasks, we count also on support of the mass media which share responsibility for reflecting people's concern over the future of mankind."

"As we see this, a considerable part of U.N. member countries are ready and want to use the representative international organization as the central forum for handling major issues of the present time," Therese Paquet-Sevigny pointed out in conclusion.

U.S. Nobel Laureate Interviewed on Paris Forum

PM281447 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview in Paris with Professor Wassily Leontief, director of New York University's Institute for Economic Analysis, by own correspondent Yu. Kovalenko: "We Are All Closely Interconnected"; date not given]

[Text] Paris—Professor W. Leontief, director of New York University's Institute for Economic Analysis, is a participant in the Paris meeting of 75 Nobel prizewinners "On the Dawn of the 21st Century: Dangers and Hopes." Your correspondent asked him to sum up some of the results of the debate.

"Scientists, politicians, and writers who enjoy great prestige in their own sphere and whose opinion is heeded both by the public and by 'the strong of this world' have gathered in Paris," Wassily Leontief said. "I hope our meeting will help to really assess the problems facing mankind and to make specific proposals for resolving them. I particularly wanted here to note the significance of cooperation between Soviet and U.S. scientists. We approach a whole number of questions from identical positions. Of course, our two countries are not capable of resolving all problems facing mankind, but much depends on them. One of the acutest problems is the gap between poor and industrially developed countries. It is as dangerous as the atom bomb. Indidentally, I exchanged opinions on this question with M.S. Gorbachev during his visit to Washington."

[Kovalenko] Politicians are increasingly frequently turning to scientists for assistance....

[Leontief] Of course, although they do not always listen to us. But, thanks to the press, radio, and television, we are able to directly address the broadest masses, whose sentiments have to be taken into account by political leaders.

[Kovalenko] Has the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, from your point of view, influenced the social climate in the United States itself?

[Leontief] Undoubtedly, including with regard to Americans' attitude toward the Soviet Union, which has begun to change for the better. All states of the world are closely interconnected today. Our two countries are the strongest, and therefore they depend on each other in the security sphere. We in the United States are no less interested than the Soviet Union in disarmament. If we reduce our spending on arms, we will be able to use the funds so released to resolve our domestic matters—we have many poor people, and we must improve social security and increase appropriations to science. [Leontief ends]

In conclusion, the conversation turned to the economic reform being conducted in the Soviet Union.

"I hope it will be implemented in full, for I consider the direction chosen by M.S. Gorbachev absolutely correct. There is no denying that it is a difficult task, tantamount to turning a huge steamship around in a narrow channel. But I believe the transformations will be carried out," my interlocutor said.

United States & Canada

Reagan on Nicaraguan Threat, Contra Aid

LD281742 Moscow TASS in English 1649 GMT 28 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 28 TASS—The diplomatic correspondent writes:

Washington has again demonstrated that it favours force as a means of solving Central America's problems: When addressing the Reserve Officers Association on Wednesday President Ronald Reagan contended that the lawful Government of Nicaragua poses a real threat to the whole of Central America and that it allegedly does not abide by the accords reached by the presidents of five countries of the region in Guatemala. And since that is so, Ronald Reagan went on, the administration intends to press for the allocation of 36 million dollars to continue assistance to the Nicaraguan contras.

The President's statement is clearly biased. It is known that the Nicaraguan Government has fulfilled by now that vast majority of the conditions contained in the Guatemala accord. Moreover, the agreements to which Washington refers provide not for an intensification of hostilities but, on the contrary, for their termination. But the new allocations for the contras mean stepped up military activity in the region. It is obvious that Washington is banking on an overthrow of the Sandinista government, on the frustration by all means of the process of a peaceful settlement in Central America.

So it is not Nicaragua but Washington that is sowing seeds of hostility and mistrust among the member countries of the Guatemala accords. It is Washington that is bent on undermining the process of a peace settlement and pouring oil on the fires of the conflict. By its statements and concrete actions the United States Administration has done and is doing everything possible to torpedo the very foundation of the Guatemala accords.

It is believed in Soviet diplomatic circles that the new allocations that the White House is demanding for the counter-revolution in Nicaragua will not serve the cause of the fulfilment of the Guatemala accords directed at the attainment of peace in that part of the world. More than that, the American Administration's new steps are fraught with unforseeable complications. The situation in Central America might become uncontrollable if high-ranking statesmen in the United States do not display political realism and stop the unfavourable development of events.

U.S. 'Unaware' of Soviet Asia Initiatives

LD281646 Moscow TASS in English 1547 GMT 28 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 28 TASS—TASS Political News Analyst Askold Biryukov writes:

U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs Gaston Sigur has just concluded a tour of South East Asian countries. He proved to be a strong advocate of the build up of the U.S. military might in the area and in the Asia-Pacific region as a whole. Stopping over in the capitals of ASEAN countries he also showed Washington's refusal to accept the idea of that region being turned into a nuclear weapons-free zone, a zone of freedom and neutrality proclaimed by ASEAN countries. The stand he expressed at a meeting with reporters in Manila on Tuesday reflected the overall approach of the U.S. Administration to the situation in the region, the administration's unwillingness to lower the level of military confrontation and normalize the military-political situation, Washington's striving to continue relying on strength in its strategy.

One would think the representative of the Washington administration is unaware of the Soviet initiatives, proposals and political approach to the affairs of Asia-Pacific region which were formulated by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in Vladivostok in 1986 and in the interview to the Indonesian newspaper MERDEKA in 1987. Gaston Sigur declares that if the USSR wishes to reduce tension and lessen differences in the region, it should reduce its armed forces. And what about the United States? Does it want the reduction of tension and shouldn't it reduce its forces?

Such unilateral claims to the Soviet Union are unjustifiable. They are clearly aimed at covering up the intensive buildup of the United States military might and military presence in the region. It is no secret that in the period prior to the signing of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles and particularly after the signing of the treaty, the United States intensified the buildup of its nuclear armed long-range sea-launched cruise missiles and forward-based means in the region. Their share in the overall balance of offensive forces increases sharply after the elimination of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles. The Pentagon is also vigorously modernizing the naval forces with a view to achieving military superiority.

The U.S. assistant secretary of state alleged that the U.S. military presence and "security programs" in the Asia-Pacific region contributed to peace. Didn't he mean U.S. wars in Korea and Vietnam, in other countries of Indo-China? Or perhaps he hints at the United States contribution to the undeclared war against Afghanistan, to the continuation of bloodshed in that country despite the policy of national reconciliation conducted by the Afghan Government?

The guest from Washington told reporters that the U.S. military and economic presence in the Asia-Pacific region is essentially of a positive nature and that ASEAN on the whole agrees with this. This is a bold statement and also one that is far removed from reality. Overwise how can one explain the fact that at the recent meeting of

ASEAN leaders in Manila, its participants refused to declare in support of keeping U.S. military bases in the Philippines, or that at the same meeting the leaders of the ASEAN countries declared for stepping up the efforts to create as soon as possible a nuclear weapons free zone in South East Asia as the indispensable condition of building a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in the area.

It would seem that the trip by Sigur Associated, specifically, with the explanation to the leaders of the South East Asian nations of the outcome of the Soviet-U.S. summit, should be held in the spirit of the constructive arrangements that have been reached in Washington, above all as regards concrete measures of real nuclear disarmament. Regrettably, it turned out that the trip was aimed at publicising Washington's old foreign policy postulates that approve of the United States "policy from the positions of strength" in the Asia-Pacific region and all over the world.

Kodrashov on Treaty Ratification Process
LD282002 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 28 Jan 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] In Washington at the Senate Foreign Affairs and Armed Services Committees discussion is continuing on the Treaty to Eliminate Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. The disposition of forces on the issue of the ratification of this treaty is the theme of a commentary by Stanislav Kodrashov, IZVESTIYA political observer.

[Begin Kondrashov recording] Greetings, Comrades. The arrival of the end of January calls to mind once again that the most important foreign policy achievement of last year should be confirmed this year. I am referring to the ratification of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, which was signed by Comrade Gorbachev and President Reagan.

The ratification mechanism was set in motion this week simultaneously in the USSR Supreme Soviet and the US Senate, which must give its advice and agreement to the President by a two-thirds majority. Secretary of State Shultz spoke to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and gave a detailed substantiation of the advantages of the treaty; Defense Secretary Carlucci did the same in the Armed Services Committee. Their words were backed up by Admiral Crowe, who heads the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The admiral stated that he and his colleagues, that is, the commanders of the U.S. Army, Air Force, Navy, and Marines are a united front in favor of the ratification of the treaty. Indeed, could it have been otherwise considering that, even before the Senate they gave their advice and consent to the President. Cia Director Webster also spoke at a closed session of the Senate Intelligence Committee. I believe there is no objection from that member of the Washington hierarchy either.

Thus, the majority of senators favor the treaty. There are only 10 to 12 against. And at least 34 are necessary to block the treaty. The United States' West European allies are also, on the whole, in favor. For example, Thatcher stated that it would be a tragedy if the people, that is, its plenipotentiary representatives in the Senate, were not to ratify the treaty concluded by the President. And the U.S. people favor the treaty by no less than two thirds, if one judges by the opinion polls.

However, as has been stated by Democratic Senator Cranston, who is an active supporter of the treaty, we are near the target but we have still not quite reached it. Opponents of the treaty are stepping up their activities. The most vehement opponent, Senator Helms, issued in response to Shultz's 50-page report, his own 180-page memorandum.

What does this memorandum contain? The contents are these: In agreeing to the zero-option originally put forward by President Reagan and in preparing to destroy many more of their missiles than the Americans and to admit U.S. inspectors onto their territory, the cunning Russians have once again twisted us simple Americans around their little finger. That is an example of what is being shouted by Helms, who formerly shared Reagan's opinion. A clinical case? To some extent, yes. Because any treaty with Moscow does not suit such people, apart, perhaps, for an act of capitulation, of course Soviet capitulation. They are opposed in principle to any agreement with us and are against arms control. And of course, in the next 3 months they will fight to the finish, driving in the wedges of dozens of amendments to split off the wavering senators.

The essence of this internal U.S. struggle was well expressed in a NEW YORK TIMES editorial. The newspaper writes that the treaty is something more than simply a solid agreement, it is a test of who will dictate the future of Soviet-U.S. relations. Will it be the supporters of a hard line who would doom the West to an endless, hopeless, expensive, and potentially dangerous competition with Moscow, or a two-party coalition ready to try less dangerous paths of competition?

These are, in general, not new questions, but there is still no predetermined positive answer to them. [end recording]

Soviet-U.S. Culture Accord Anniversary Marked
LD281428 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1030 GMT 28 Jan 88

[Text] Washington, 28 Jan (TASS)—A solemn ceremony to mark the 30th anniversary of the signing of the first agreement between the USSR and the United States on

exchanges in the field of culture, technology, and education has taken place at the U.S. State Department. Taking part in it were a Soviet delegation headed by Vasiliy Zakharov, USSR minister of culture, which was received by Secretary of State George Shultz, U.S. Information Agency (USIA) director Charles Wick, and by heads of the Eisenhower Fund, including Susan Eisenhower, grand-daughter of the former U.S. President. To the applause of the gathering Yuriy Dubinin, USSR ambassador to the United States, read out a message from Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Welcoming those present at the solemn ceremony, Secretary of State George Shultz read out a message from U.S. President Ronald Reagan. "I am firmly convinced", the message says, "that there is no better way to reduce mistrust and misunderstanding than through cultural and educational contacts between peoples . General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and I reaffirmed the importance of such contacts when we met in Washington just a few weeks ago. My hope is that we can broaden exchanges between students, artists, young people in the arts, and people from all walks of life in order to build bridges which are necessary if we are to progress to the nineties and beyond."

USSR Minister of Culture Vasiliy Zakharov expressed the conviction that now, following the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in December, 1987, when both countries signed the historic treaty on the elimination of a whole class of nuclear armaments, the time has come to develop Soviet-U.S. relations further in a constructive way and to broaden and deepen mutually advantageous exchanges between the USSR and the United States, which, undoubtedly, will contribute to strengthening universal peace.

Taking part in the ceremony were representatives of broad circles of the American public, members of the House of Representatives and the Senate of the U.S. Congress, and representatives of the leading mass media in the United States. Cosmonaut Vance Brand emphasized in a conversation with a TASS correspondent that our single and indivisible planet earth awaits a time when the peoples of all countries, first and foremost the United States and the Soviet Union, will once again pool their efforts and resources for the good of all mankind.

Reagan Talks With Egypt's Mubarak

LD282125 Moscow TASS in English 2101 GMT 28 Jan 88

[Text] Washington January 28 TASS—Talks began in the White House today between U.S. President Ronald Reagan and Egyptian President Husni Mubarak who is currently in the United States on an official state visit.

The head of the U.S. Administration when welcoming the Egyptian president at the White House pointed out that the latest developments in the Israel-occupied Arab territories indicated that "hard work, creativity and a willingness to take practical, not merely rhetorical steps are needed" to settle the situation in the Middle East.

However, it followed from Reagan's pronouncements that one should hardly expect from the United States any new specific measures aimed at resolving the Middle East conflict. Reagan again emphasized the U.S. commitment to the policy of separate deals and talks the type of the Camp David deal which he referred to as an immense achievement.

In a reply speech, the president of Egypt pointed out an urgent necessity for a settlement of regional conflicts, and stated that the situation in the Middle East called for special attention. Mubarak said the United States could do much to facilitate the search for a Middle East settlement.

The Egyptian president, who had made a tour of a number of Middle East countries recently, voiced the common opinion of many Arab leaders about an urgent need for specific steps to prevent the situation in various parts of the Middle East from getting worse.

The continuation of the Israeli occupation of Arab territories and repressive actions against the Palestinian people do not contribute to settling the Middle East conflict at an earliest date, he pointed out.

Mubarak Meets Shultz

LD281427 Moscow TASS in English 1257 GMT 28 Jan 88

[Text] Washington January 28 TASS—Egyptian President Husni Mubarak staying in Washington on an official visit met on Wednesday U.S. State Secretary George Shultz and Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci.

Mubarak's talks with the head of the U.S. foreign office centred on ways of a peaceful settlement in the Middle East. After the meeting the U.S. state secretary described the discussion as "very worthwhile", refusing to reveal any particulars of the talks. However, the newspaper WASHINGTON POST points out that Mubarak "briefed top Reagan administration officials on his ideas for a new Middle East peace initiative". It points out that the ideas include imposing a moratorium on establishment of new Israeli settlements on the occupied Arab territories and direct Arab-Israeli talks within an international peace conference on the Middle East.

The visit is taking place against the background of more insistent demands to the Reagan administration to invigorate its Middle East policy and to use its connections and influence on Israel to put an end to the bloodshed in the occupied Gaza Strip and the Jordan West Bank, make Israel back the idea of holding an international conference on resolving the Middle East crisis.

This is corroborated, among other things, by a meeting of Shultz on the same day with Hanna Sinyurah and Fayaz Abu Rahmah, Palestinian leaders on the Jordan West Bank, who arrived in Washington. They said that they insistently called on Shultz to take a more active role in the Middle East and to give the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) "our sole legitimate representative", a place at an international peace conference. However, Shultz intimated that the USA was not ready to make such an important step and said that the USA had "real problems with the PLO".

During Mubarak's meeting with Carlucci the sides discussed questions of expanding military cooperation between Washington and Cairo. According to THE WASHINGTON POST, the point in question is, above all, an agreement "formally giving Egypt the same status as Israel as a major non-North Atlantic Treaty Organization ally". This agreement is expected to be signed during the four-day visit by the Egyptian president in the USA. Under a similar agreement the USA granted Israel the right to contest for military contracts in the USA, on an equal footing with U.S. munitions companies, lifted limitations on purchases of Israeli weapons and exchange in military technology.

Today the Egyptian president will meet President Reagan.

Supreme Soviet Delegation Meets Congressmen

LD281539 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0900 GMT 28 Jan 88

[Text] Washington, 28 Jan (TASS)—A delegation of the USSR parliamentary group headed by Avgust Voss, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Council of Nationalities and deputy chairman of the USSR parliamentary group, has come to Washington at the invitation of the U.S. Congress.

On Wednesday, the delegation met Claude Pepper, the cochairman [as received] of the U.S. parliamentary group, and members of the House of Representatives Rules Committee, which he heads, and talked with Speaker of the House James Wright, as well as a group of senators. On behalf of the chairmen of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet the delegation presented the leadership of the Senate and House of Representatives with a letter containing proposals on setting up machinery for regular joint consideration at parliamentary level of issues pertaining to cooperation inthe humanitarian field and observance of human rights in the USSR and the United States.

The letter proposes reaching an understanding on the regular exchange of reports between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the U.S. Congress on the situation in the sphere of the observance of human rights in their countries and on what is being done to strengthen these rights further. It is suggested that "roundtables," business-like meetings between parliamentarians fom the two countries to discuss specific humanitarian issues, be held and that new telebridges be set up. The letter also puts forward proposals on coming to an understanding on speeches on humanitarian problems by USSR Supreme Soviet deputies in U.S. Congressional committees and by members of Congress in Supreme Soviet commissions, and on using the exchange of Parliamentary delegations between the USSR and United States for discussion of humanitarian issues and human rights.

The USSR Supreme Soviet's letter expresses confidence that cooperation in the humanitarian sphere will facilitate the development of mutual understanding between the parliaments of the two countries and the improvement of relations between the USSR and United States.

During the conversations that took place on Wednesday members of the Soviet delegation stressed that during the recent meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan the two countries had together taken an historic step on the road to nuclear disarmament. The Soviet parliamentarians expressed their conviction that new steps on the road to a nuclear-free world, where there would be no confrontations, wars, or military conflicts, are essential. The congressmen and senators who took part in the conversations came out in support of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on scrapping intermediate and shorter-range missiles. The parliamentarians of the two countries discussed the development of Soviet-U.S. relations and the road to making them more stable.

China

Delegation Head on Results of PRC Trade Talks

PM281407 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Unnamed IZVESTIYA correspondent interview with Ye.P. Bavrin, head of the Soviet Government trade delegation which has just returned from the PRC, under the headline: "USSR-China: Partners Are Embarking On Direct Ties"; date and place of interview not given; first paragraph is IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] An IZVESTIYA correspondent recently approached Ye.P.Bavrin, the head of the Soviet governmental trade delegation which has recently returned from the PRC, and asked him to answer a few questions on the results of the trade talks between our countries in 1988.

Question: A Soviet-Chinese protocol on commodity turnover and payments for 1988 was recently signed in Beijing. What are its main terms?

Answer: The volume of trade between our countries envisaged for 1988 amounts to R1.8 billion, which is almost 30% higher than commodity turnover under the

1987 protocol. I must admit that last year our trade with China declined somewhat in comparison with 1986. This reduction was associated with the fact that we were unable to supply certain goods ordered by Chinese organizations and Chinese demand for a number of goods, primarily machines and equipment, fell. At the same time this was also provoked by the fall in prices on the world market. The envisaged increase in mutual deliveries of goods this year means, to our gratification, that we will reach the 1986 level and, if we both make efforts, we will possibly exceed it somewhat. Even so I would like to stress that in physical terms the reciprocal deliveries of goods planned for this year substantially exceed the 1986 level. This enables me to say with confidence that any price fluctuations on the world market will not be able to affect the scheduled commodity turnover. But both sides will have to do a great deal of work in order for our plans to become reality.

Question: What goods will the partners supply?

Answer: The Soviet Union will supply the PRC with power engineering equipment, railroad rolling stock, automobiles, aeronautical equipment and spare parts, ferrous and nonferrous metals, fertilizers, petroleum products, lumber, and other output from Soviet industry.

We will receive from China a broad range of output from the light and textile industries, machine building, chemical goods, tungsten concentrate, fluorspar, magnesite clinker, and agricultural output.

The sides have reached an agreement that deliveries from the USSR to the PRC in 1988 of complete sets of equipment for economic and technical cooperation projects will increase by approximately 150% in comparison with last year. Cooperation on approximately 30 projects being set up in the PRC is envisaged for the coming year. They include power engineering, ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, machine building, chemical and light industry, and agricultural projects. Cooperation has been planned, in particular, in such large-scale enterprises as the Wuhan and Anshan Metallurgical Combines, the "Jixian" and "Yimin" Thermal Power Stations, whose units have a unit capacity of 500 megawatts, the "Suizhong" Thermal Power Station with units of 800 megawatts, the Jinan and Qixing coal dressing factories, and the Shanghai and Harbin Gas Plants. Equipment will be supplied for eight flax combines, agricultural livestock units, and other economic projects.

At the same time we well understand that despite the significant growth in cooperation, the reserves in this sphere are by no means exhausted yet.

There is also something new which reflects the changes under way in our country in the system of managing foreign economic ties. This is the setting aside [rezervirovaniye] in the list of PRC exports to the USSR of an amount for the new participants in our foreign economic complex (Soviet ministries and departments which have begun to carry out foreign trade operations) to purchase necessary Chinese goods out of currency payments which they receive from exporting their output to China.

Question: Apart from trade, are there any other forms of economic cooperation with China?

Answer: The protocol itself described one of these new forms of economic cooperation: production sharing. It envisages the delivery of electric locomotives and railroad cars from the Soviet Union to China and we will receive certain equipment for cars and electric locomotive automatic couplers from the PRC. In the last 2 years border trade between our countries has developed successfully. It rose in volume from R15.6 million in 1984 to R28 million in 1986, and 1987 ended with a volume of more than R50 million.

The text of an agreement on direct ties between USSR and PRC territorial units was agreed upon in the course of the talks. Following its signing RSFSR krays and oblasts and the Kazakh, Uzbek, Turkmen, and Tajik Republics will carry out direct ties with Chinese provinces and cities by means of reciprocal deliveries of goods on a balanced basis depending on their capabilities and requirements and will be able to create joint enterprises and develop other forms of cooperation on a broad scale. This will enable us to make fuller use of the local resources at the disposal of Soviet and Chinese organizations and at the same time promote the expansion of our mutual commodity turnover and establish closer friendly relations between our countries and peoples.

Losev: Soviet People Interested in China

OW281101 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 22 Jan 88

[Station commentator Losev report]

[Excerpts] Listeners: 21 January is the 64th anniversary ofthe death of Lenin, leader of the Soviet Great October Socialist Revolution and founder of the CPSU and the world's first socialist country. [passage omitted]

Lenin's name is synonymous with the historic victory of the Soviet people advancing on the socialist road. It is also inseparable from the revolutionary movements in many countries, including the Chinese people's selfless revolutionary struggle. Our station commentator Losev had an interview with Soviet Sinologist (Gudosnikov) and asked him to explain the influence of Lenin's thought on the development of the Chinese Revolution and on the progress of the Chinese society. [passage omitted]

Our commentator pointed out: In the past few years, China has carried out reforms in economic and other fields of social life. We attach great importance to their

reforms. During a recent interview with China's LIAO-WANG, Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, emphatically pointed out that the two socialist countries—the Soviet Union and China—are dealing with the same problem: To reform the economic mechanism and the political system.

Professor (Gudosnikov) pointed out: The Soviet people are closely following the progress of China's further exploration of a road for building socialism. This is evident from our publication of the famous Chinese political activist Deng Xiaoping's book and by our interest in the basic issues of contemporary China. [passage omitted]

Popov Reviews Deng Xiaoping Anthology
PM281417 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 4, 24 Jan 88 p 4

[Gavriil Popov article: "Studying the Chinese Experience"]

[Text] The State Committee of the USSR for Publishing, Printing and Book Trade, otherwise known as Goskomizdat, has held a public ceremony of the presentation of the book entitled "Basic Issues of Modern China", which is a collection of works (recent speeches and talks) by Deng Xiaoping, prominent Party leader and statesman of the PRC.

"We regard the appearance of Deng Xiaoping's book as a major event", said Mikhail Nenashev, Chairman of the Goskomizdat of the USSR. "Close interest is evinced in our country in everything taking place in China. We are aware of Deng Xiaoping's role in preparing the reform in that country. His book will make it possible to get insight into the theoretical and practical aspects of socialist modernization in the PRC."

"We've managed to publish Deng Xiaoping's book in a month and a half—a short time", said Aleksandr Polyakov, Director of Politicheskaya Literatura Publishers. "There is a great demand for literature telling about China—be it books on philosophy, history or culture. Recently a book about Sun Yatsen by Academician S. Tikhvinskiy was put out, and a reference book, People's Republic of China, is being prepared for print."

As one familiarizes oneself with the works of the chief architect of Chinese modernization, one feels primarily the immense force possessed by Marxism, bearing in mind that a people comprising a quarter of the planet's population have been trying to tackle their problems, using Marxist principles, tens of thousands of kilometres away from Europe, where this teaching originated, and nearly a century after the emergence of the works of Marx and Engels.

Quite correct are Deng Xiaoping's formulae: "socialism with Chinese specifics" and "combination of the universal truth of Marxism with China's specifics". If we substitute the words "Soviet", "Hungarian", "Polish", etc., for the word "Chinese", and if by "specifics" we understand taking stock of all the realities of the present-day epoch, all the past traditions of every country and nation, then "taking account of the specifics" will become a lever not only of the effective application of the universal truths of Marxism, but also an instrument of their creative development.

And how futile in the light of this approach are the attempts to turn the works by the classics of Marxism into a kind of cookery book giving exhaustive recipes for the solution of all problems. And how absured it is to regard the giant resources of one or another country and the lives of millions of people as a sort of material intended to corroborate the correctness of interpreting these universal truths of Marxism by one or another leader. A system, which should be ruled by the working people themselves can materialize only as a result of their own efforts. And its specific forms will be determined by the character, scope and peculiarities of the human factor's activities.

From this point of view, I believe, special significance for understanding the universal truths of perestroyka gets attached to the experience of Chinese Communists. First and foremost, I would like to note the Chinese family contract. It gives an answer to the question about the ways of activizing millions of working people, and the ways of turning them—at the present stage of development—into real masters of public property. In an amazingly short time the family contract in China has boosted agriculture and made it possible to provide food to a people of one billion, and thereby provide a basis for the development of other spheres of the economy.

When familiarizing myself with Chinese philosophy and history, I noticed a long time ago that, for the Chinese, the "family" has the same connotation as the "individual" for the West European, or the "commune" or "society" for the Slav. As early as 300 years before Christ, the great Confucian Mencius evolved a teaching about a "system of wells", in which the family was the basic unit of society. This idea was developed 500 years later by He Xiu (124-182), whereas the T'ai P'ings who captured Nanjing in 1853 again spoke about the family in their Law on Land. A merit of Chinese Communists and an explanation of their success is that they have been able to combine the principles of socialism with the "family contract"—the fundamental tradition of century-old Chinese history.

Another major problem, examined by Deng Xiaoping and which is important for reforms in all the socialist countries , is the role of the Party and political mechanisms in perestroyka. He underscores that the socialist character of perestroyka cannot be ensured without the Communist Party. But in order to be able to provide effective leadership to perestroyka, the party and political mechanism must restructure themselves.

At first, the accent in China was made on the personnel aspect of the matter. Deng said, among other things: "I am afraid that the coming of age and ignorance of cadre ranks is a problem that is common for socialist countries". A mechanism of adivsers was set up, the order of paying pensions to leaders was modified, etc.

But shortly it became clear that the point was not only in individuals, but also in the very mechanism of Party and political leadership. And in a talk on June 12, 1987—which concludes this interesting book—Deng Xiaoping says: "Recently out Central Committee has been thinking of how to accelerate the rate of reform.... Now we have put forward a new question, in other words, we have given priority to the remaking of the political structure."

Sihanouk-Hun Sen Talks Yield 'Hopeful Results'

OW280510 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1500 GMT 27 Jan 88

[Unattributed commentary from the "Current Events and Commentaries" program]

[Text] On 26 January, Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and foreign minister of the Soviet Union, spoke with Hun Sen, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Kampuchea in Moscow. They discussed how the international situation had affected peaceful and political settlement of the Cambodian issue. In this respect, Hun Sen pointed out the great significance of continuous improvement of Soviet-Chinese relations. A commentator of this station has the following comments:

How and with what means the Cambodian issue shall be settled is, of course, the affair of the Cambodians themselves. However, under the present circumstances, the only feasible way to settle the issue is to hold a dialogue between various political forces, in which a political system which meets the interests of all people shall be established. In fact, such a dialogue is already under way. In Phnom Penh's view, the second-round Hun Sen-Sihanouk talks held a few days ago in Saint-Germain-en-Laye near Paris yielded hopeful results. Of course, the dialogue's final success depends to a very large extent on the stance of other countries concerned. I feel this is where China can play a very constructive role. Both Hun Sen and Sihanouk also think so. There are no unresolvable differences between the Soviet Union and China in the assessment of the Cambodian situation. Although the two countries differ in their positions and on other matters, they basically maintain that the Cambodian issue can and must be settled peacefully and politically on the basis of respect for the sovereign rights of the Cambodian people.

It heartens us that Beijing has also adopted a positive attitude toward the dialogue between Prince Sihanouk, who is considered the most influential activist of the Cambodian opposition factions, and Hun Sen, who represents the Cambodian Government. Beijing endorses Prince Sihanouk's actions, including his continuous dialogue with Phnom Penh, until the talks end successfully. Beijing sincerely believes that cooperation between the Soviet Union and China will be an effective factor in the early settlement of the Cambodian issue. This is cooperation for peace, because settlement of the Cambodian issue means elimination of one of the most dangerous regional conflicts hampering the normalization of the situation in Southeast Asia. This is, of course, the hope of both the Soviet Union and China.

Northeast Asia

Takeshita Receives Malkevich Delegation

LD281839 Moscow TASS in English 1819 GMT 28 Jan 88

[Text] Tokyo January 28 TASS—Japanese Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita confirmed that the Government of Japan had attached great importance in its policy to relations with the Soviet Union and strove to give a stable nature to their development. He also reiterated the known Japanese position on the question of concluding the Japanese-Soviet peace treaty. The Japanese prime minister made this statement during his meeting with Vladislav Malkevich, president of the Presidium of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry. The two men held a useful exchange of opinions on the questions of relations between the two countries.

Vladislav Malkevich, who is heading the Soviet delegation at the 11th joint conference of the Soviet-Japanese and Japanese-Soviet committee on economic cooperation, stressed the usefulness for both sides of the extension of Soviet-Japanese relations and cooperation for strengthening trust and goodneighbourliness between the two countries. It was also pointed out that the best way of searching mutually acceptable solutions to arising problems would be an extension of cooperation into areas where the positions of the sides were close or coincided. The Soviet side believes that these areas included trade, economy, science and technology. If such a search is mutual, the practical results will not be late in coming.

On the same day the head of the Soviet delegation met with Japanese Foreign Minister Sosuke Uno and Minister of Foreign Trade and Industry Hajime Tamura.

Delegates Address Trade Meeting

LD271712 Moscow TASS in English 1638 GMT 27 Jan 88

[Text] Tokyo January 27 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vladimir Kuchko:

The Soviet-Japanese and the Japanese-Soviet committees for economic cooperation opened their 11th joint session here today to discuss the issues of developing trade and economic relations between the two countries and ways of diversifying the forms of mutually beneficial business ties between them.

Messages of greeting to the session from Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and Noboru Takeshita, prime minister of Japan, were read out at the opening sitting.

Hiroshi Anzai, chairman of the Japanese-Soviet Committee for Economic Cooperation, said that since the previous session in Moscow nearly two years ago important positive changes have taken place on the international scene, which have set the stage for consolidating economic cooperation and broadening world trade.

He added that the Japanese business community has been closely following the course of social and economic reform in the Soviet Union and showing a keen interest in Soviet economic development plans, including a program for Far Eastern economic development.

Anzai, the leader of the Japanese delegation to the session, said the bold innovations in the USSR have opened up new possibilities for deepening trade and economic exchanges between Japan and the Soviet Union and developing new areas and forms of bilateral business cooperation.

Vladislav Malkevich, president of the Presidium of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of the USSR, said his country's approach to trade and economic contacts with Japan is of a consistent and principled nature.

"We are for developing equitable and mutually advantageous cooperation between our countries, which will be free from any discriminatory and restrictive regulations, for large-scale and long-term cooperation," he said.

Malkevich, who is the leader of the Soviet delegation, continued that trade and economic relations are the most important material basis of the entire package of bilateral relations. But the current level of these links is far from corresponding to the potentialities of the USSR and Japan, which are among the major economic powers of the modern world.

The economic cooperation between the two nations has reached a point where it is essential to develop new, non-traditional forms of business ties, Malkevich said, pointing to cooperative arrangements in research and production as well as joint ventures as a promising way of developing economic relations.

Trade Cooperation Lacks Direction

OW281133 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 27 Jan 88

[Mikhail Vasilyev commentary]

[Excerpts] The 11th joint session of the USSR-Japan and Japan-USSR economic cooperation committees opened in Tokyo on 27 January. Our economic commentator Mikhail Vasilyev writes:

Both Soviet and Japanese observers note that the session is being held at a time when East-West relations have begun showing signs of improvement as a result of the successful USSR-U.S. summit in late December.

Soviet-Japanese trade made some gains in the mid-eighties. Stable growth is yet to be achieved, however. Trade in 1986 amounted to R3.2 billion in value; as a result, Japan became one of the three major Soviet trade partners in the capitalist world. According to interim data, however, bilateral trade last year dropped about 20%, pushing Japan back to fifth place, the same position it held in the early eighties.

For fairness' sake, however, it should be pointed out that both sides have made efforts to increase mutual commodity supplies and organize a new positive form of cooperation. For example, a Japanese industrial fair called Moscow Comprehensive Japanese Industrial Exhibition 86 was held in 1986. [passage omitted]

Not all these efforts have been fruitful, however. Pressing problems in bilateral trade are not being resolved rapidly enough. The two countries lack a clear-cut direction in further developing trade and economic cooperation between them. For example, the economic cooperation committees have no specific, phase-by-phase programs of joint activities for the remainder of the eighties and beyond. This question will probably be raised in the current Tokyo session.

Also high on the agenda this time is the question of creating joint ventures with Japanese businesses in the USSR. NIHON KEIZAI SHIMBUN writes that the Japanese side will express its concern over the new Soviet laws—the joint venture law and the state-run enterprises law. The newspaper says that the Japanese business community continues to exhibit hesitation regarding proposed joint ventures and direct trade with Soviet enterprises. They have still not been informed about the specific articles and paragraphs of the new laws and their application. The Japanese side, the newspaper adds, has expressed its hope that adequate explanations by the Soviet side will shed light on this point and clarify prospects for a marked increase in bilateral trade.

Trade imbalance remains one of the problems still unresolved in USSR-Japan trade. Although there has been some tangible correction in the past 2 years, we find it necessary to note that it was solely through a Soviet cut

of imports from Japan. However, the Soviet view is that effective resolution of this issue lies in the expansion of Soviet exports to Japan. For example, Japan should make every possible effort to completely fulfill its obligations concerning procurements from the Soviet Union under the current master contracts. In the near future, ammonia, methyl alcohol, polyethylene, (?polystyrene), benzol, and other chemical products will certainly become new major Soviet exports to Japan. They are being shipped to Japan from next year in return for chemical industrial plants purchased by the Soviet Union from Japan this year.

This alone is obviously insufficient to ensure stable growth of Soviet exports. The restructuring of Soviet foreign economic relations requires measures to redress not only the export but also import structure. To that end, emphasis will be laid on purchasing goods that suit Soviet interests, not only commercially but from the standpoint of scientific and technological progress as well. Needless to say, trade partners who will provide not just up-to-date but also advanced technology will be given priority consideration.

The Soviet Union is ready not only to buy Japanese technology but also to organize closer cooperation in the area of advanced technology exchange. An area of vast possibilities is that of establishing links between Soviet fundamental research and Japanese technological application.

The conclusion of a USSR-Japan long-term intergovernment agreement will undoubtedly speed the successful resolution of these problems and invigorate the development of trade and economic, scientific, and technological exchanges which are in the interests of both nations.

Malkevich Leads Delegation

For Tokyo KYODO coverage of the visit to Japan by a delegation led by Vldislav Malkevich, chairman of the Chamber of Commerice and Industry, to attend a session of the USSR-Japan Economic Committee, including reports on Malkevich's meeting with Prime Minister Takeshita and the possibility of a visit to Japan by Foreign Minister Shevardnadze, see the Japan section of the 28 January East Asia DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Japan's 112th Diet Session To Discuss Budget

OW290315 Moscow in Japanese to Japan
1200 GMT 25 Jan 88

[By Tokyo correspondent Potapov]

[Text] A mountainous pile of difficult issues, foreign and domestic, awaits the 112th ordinary session of the Japanese Diet. Heated verbal exchanges are anticipated over some of these issues, particularly the government plan to introduce tax reforms.

In his keynote policy speech Prime Minister Takeshita said the implementation of the tax reform plan is one of the Takeshita cabinet's most important tasks. Meanwhile, opposition leaders, charging that the plan runs counter to the LDP's pre-election promise not to introduce indirect taxation, are vowing to do everything in their power to block the introduction of a new tax.

The central purpose of the current Diet session is to deliberate and approve the proposed 1988 government budget bill. As is well-known, the budget bill presented by the government includes a military budget increase of 5.2%. The increase means that military spending will exceed the 1% of GNP limit for the second consecutive year.

Furthermore, the Japanese Government has decided to increase its spending to help support the U.S. forces stationed in Japan. The progressive forces in Japan view this as a continuation of the policy of turning Japan into a military power and involving it further in U.S. world strategy. In terms of the growth rate of military expenditures, Japan far surpasses the United States' NATO allies. Former U.S. Secretary of State Kissinger recently said that undoubtedly Japan will soon become one of the world's military powers.

In spite of these facts, in his speech at the reopened Diet session Prime Minister Takeshita reemphasized that all of Japan's military preparations will be implemented within the framework of its peace constitution. These remarks are undoubtedly directed at those who are critical of the government's military policy, but what effect will these remarks produce?

Recently, opposition parties severely criticized the results of Prime Minister Takeshita's visit to the United States. The focal point of the criticism was that during the visit the Japanese side failed to indicate its contribution to strengthening international detente.

It is clear that the nation expects much more than simple observance of the peace constitution from the Japanese Government in the foreign policy area. In other words, the government is expected to come up with practical and active measures which will contribute to the strengthening of peace and security.

Following the prime minister's speech, Foreign Minister Uno stated that the policy of strengthening the allied relationship with the United States would remain unchanged, and he pointed out that the recent USSR-U.S. agreement on nuclear arms reduction represents a positive step in the international situation.

This statement [words indistinct] with the antiquated approach toward Japan-USSR relations as seen in Foreign Minister Uno's speech. While saying that he is seeking improved relations between Japan and the Soviet Union, he tied this to expectations for the Soviet Union meeting Japan's territorial demand.

Silayev, DPRK's Kye Discuss Machine Cooperation
PM290901 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jan 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Talk Held"]

[Text] I.S. Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received Kye Hyong-sun, DPRK minister of the machine building industry [title as published], 27 January.

Questions of mutual interest concerning the further development of USSR-DPRK cooperation in the sphere of machine building were discussed during the talk.

Kharkov on U.S.-ROK 'Team Spirit' Exercises
LD281730 Moscow TASS in English 1550 GMT 28 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 28 TASS—Commentator Vasiliy Kharkov writes:

Today's announcement by the American-South Korean Military Command about the forthcoming Team Spirit-88 war games did not come as a surprise. These exercises are being held regularly from 1976 and have already become a sort of symbol of the Pentagon's intent to sustain a dangerous seat of tension in the Korean peninsula. By its scale Team Spirit ranks among the biggest military exercises held outside of the United States. Not only the 40,000 American troops stationed in South Korea take part in these militaristic games but numerous units are also usually brought from the United States and American bases in the Asia-Pacific region to participate.

The only thing that differs Team Spirit-88 from the previous exercises is that they will start somewhat later than usual, late in March, and last less than usual. But extensive preparations for them will begin already in February. As in the past the exercises will involve more than 200,000 troops, considerable air and naval forces, including the biggest ships. And as in the past, the exercises will be of a clearly expressed offensive nature.

Late last year the Pentagon specially engineered an information leak purporting that no joint American-South Korean Team Spirit exercises would be held in 1988. Washington and Seoul wanted to present this almost as an "act of good will" motivated by desire to ease tension on the Korean peninsula on the eve of the Summer Olympic Games in Seoul.

But in reality this was nothing more than a hypocritical propaganda trick. Washington and Seoul never intended to cancel the Team Spirit-88 war games. After all their intent to continue their from-positions-of-strength policy on the Korean peninsula remains unchanged.

These exercises will be conducted in conditions of a hostile campaign launched against the DPRK by Washington and Seoul with the aim of inflicting damage to its international prestige by accusing it of complicity in the crash of a South Korean air liner.

But it is logical to ask: Are not Washington and Seoul fanning up this provocational outcry with the aim of getting a pretext for a new exercise in sabre-rattling near the borders with the DPRK?

Pyongyang's profound adherence to peace was confirmed once again by its new major peace initiative: At the beginning of this year it proposed to convene a joint conference of the North and the South in order to put an end to the confrontation, to press for national accord and a fundamental detente on the Korean peninsula. But Seoul and Washington responded to this proposal with large-scale military exercises.

Soviet-Mongolian Culture Protocol Signed
LD271726 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 27 Jan 88

[Text] A protocol on cooperation for 1988 between the USSR Culture Ministry and the Culture Ministry of the Mongolian People's Republic has been signed. The document envisions performances in that fraternal country by artistes of the Novosibirsk Academic Theater of Opera and Ballet, the SKAZ quartet. An exhibition of Belorussian decorative and applied art will be organized while Soviet viewers will familiarize themselves with the creative work of artistes belonging to the Mongolian Academic Theater of Opera and Ballet troupe, the folklore collective.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Korolev Hails Hun Sen-Sihanouk Talks
BK280915 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1330 GMT 27 Jan 88

[Station Commentator Vladimir Korolev commentary]

[Text] Developments in Cambodia have determined the situation in all of Southeast Asia as well as other regions. The facts have demonstrated that peace can be restored in this country only through negotiations. The meetings between Comrade Hun Sen, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PRK, and Samdech Norodom Sihanouk have demonstrated that a new way of thinking based on current realities has come to the fore of international affairs.

Everyone has recognized the PRK as an independent and sovereign state, where a government elected by the people is in full control and where the economic, educational, and health sectors are being expanded. In order to guarantee the developmental progress of the country, the Cambodian Government has set forth a national reconciliation program. The meetings between Comrade Hun

Sen and Samdech Norodom Sihanouk have correctly reflected this program. These meetings are likewise opened to representatives of all other Cambodian opposition groups. The talks between the two Cambodian sides, assessed as very fruitful by the latter, have enjoyed the enthusiastic approval of anyone who wants to see stability return to Southeast Asia. The talks have won support from various countries, such as India, Indonesia, and France.

In the Soviet Union, it has been emphasized that no objection would be made against political relations between Cambodian parties. This has been stressed by the Soviet foreign minister, Comrade Eduard Shevardnadze, during a meeting he had with Comrade Hun Sen in Moscow on 26 January. The comrade minister of foreign affairs of the Soviet Union hailed the agreement reached between Comrade Hun Sen and Samdech Norodom Sihanouk concerning various topics as well as their decision to hold more meetings in the future. Indeed, a problem as complex as the Cambodian question cannot be resolved in one stroke. Yet the desire to unravel the knots of differences through political means has already brought about some results.

Gusev Holds Economic Cooperation Talks In SRV

PM290855 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Summing Up the Results"]

[Text] Ho Chi Minh City, 27 Jan—The 13th session of the Soviet-Vietnamese Intergovernmental Commission for Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation was held in Ho Chi Minh City 24-27 January. It summed up the results of cooperation in this sphere over the past year and discussed the question of further improving this cooperation in view of the fact that the two countries are restructuring their national economic management. The Soviet delegation was led by V.K. Gusev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and the Vietnamese delegation by Nguyen Co Thach, member of the Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV] Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers.

Particular attention was devoted to the practical implementation of the accords reached in May 1987 during the official friendly visit to Moscow by Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the CPV Central Committee, and his meeting with M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in Moscow in November last year.

It was noted that as a result of joint efforts, trade and economic cooperation between the USSR and the SRV is developing fruitfully and has contributed to the implementation of very important SRV economic programs. Soviet and Vietnamese organizations have stepped up their work to use new forms of cooperation and improve the mechanism of cooperation.

A corresponding protocol was signed on the basis of the results of the session, which proceeded in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding. Intergovernmental agreements on the basic principles of cooperation in improving the efficiency of projects built in the SRV with Soviet assistance and on cooperation in shipbuilding were also signed.

There was a friendly conversation between Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the CPV Central Committee, and the head of the Soviet government delegation. Pham Hung, member of the CPV Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers, took part in the conversation.

Near East & South Asia

Zia Comment on Future Afghan Regime Assailed

PM281817 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 4

[V. Matveyev "Political Observer's Opinion": "Prompting to Order"]

[Text] National reconciliation in Afghanistan based upon dialogue and talks between the opposing sides is meant to lead to a cessation of the bloodshed in the country, the fostering of an atmosphere of trust, and the creation of a coalition government composed of representatives of all forces advocating internal peace.

This process has begun and it is proceeding, albeit, of course, with difficulty. Progress along this path is in the vital interests of all strata of the Afghan people, as well as with the cause of stability and peace in the region of Southwest Asia.

Afghanistan's neighbor Pakistan is a part of that region, and its leaders must be aware that the restoration of peace in Afghanistan is in their country's national and state interests too. Those leaders have repeatedly expressed themselves in that spirit, but actions, not words, are needed to assist the efforts in that direction. And this is particularly important now that a crucial stage has been reached in the talks being conducted by the UN secretary general's representative.

At precisely this moment, however, Pakistani President Ziaul Haq has made a statement which can only be appraised as an attempt to hinder the evolving peace settlement process.

In an interview a few days ago, as the WASHINGTON POST reports, Ziaul Haq was discussing the kind of government in Afghanistan with which Pakistan could or could not sign an agreement. The very posing of this question is cause for puzzlement. On what grounds does the leader of Pakistan consider it possible to pose as the

person who makes a decision about something that cannot and must not fall within his competence in any way but is the inalienable right of the Afghans themselves?

Ziaul Haq let it be known that he does not like the PDPA—the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan. However, Afghanistan lives in accordance with its own laws and rules and not according to diktat from outside. The selfsame Ziaul Haq has more than once expressed himself in favor of an independent, neutral, nonaligned Afghanistan. Why does he now permit himself utterances which do not accord with his previous statements? Is it because he would like to see in Afghanistan the same order which, in accordance with his will, has reigned for some time now in his own country, which is hitched by military ties to the United States? Is it not perhaps on orders from outside that the Pakistani leader is addressing his "promptings" to Afghanistan?

The Afghan leaders are not prescribing to Pakistan what form of rule it should adopt. In general this is impermissible in international practice. Why then is the president of Pakistan tackling such a thankless and unseemly task?

In the same interview he essentially admitted the considerable role played by external interference in the shape of the military support given to the dushmans by the United States and some other countries in maintaining the abnormal situation around Afghanistan. However, he fails to draw a conclusion from this admission. And the conclusion is obvious: An end to all forms of external interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan has been and remains an essential precondition to the establishment of peace there.

What has been said fully applies also to the question of the composition and nature of the coalition government in Afghanistan. This question will be resolved in Afghanistan itself rather than beyond its borders. The idea of the formation of such a government presupposes a division of power between all forces which advocate or are prepared to advocate internal peace and an end to the bloodshed. As a result of the course of events, this is how the Afghans themselves have posed this question. Other governments must respect their will rather than try to foist their "rules" on Afghanistan.

Najibullah Speech to PDPA Plenum Reported

LD282309 Moscow TASS in English 2204 GMT 28 Jan 88

[Text] Kabul January 28 (TASS)—"Over the year that has passed since the proclamation of the national reconciliation policy of Afghanistan, a transition from slogans to a whole system of measures in the political, economic, military, social, international and other fields has occurred. The measures correspond to the principles of the national democratic revolution and to the peculiarities of the Afghan society", stated the republic's president Najibullah, general secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA).

The BAKHTAR News Agency has reported that he delivered a report at a two-day plenary meeting of the PDPA Central Committee on the realisation of the national reconciliation policy and on urgent tasks of the party under the constitution. The plenary meeting came to a close today.

"The pursuance of the national reconciliation policy", the Afghan leader went on to say, "raised the party's prestige among the people who now regard the PDPA as a force capable of turning the country towards peace".

"The recent party meetings, congresses of public organizations and creative unions, conferences of national entrepreneurs and craftsmen, jergahs of nomads and hazaras contributed to uniting various forces of the country on the platform of peace", the general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee said.

"The second all-party conference of the PDPA and the Loya Jirgah which endorsed the constitution and elected a president became events of historic importance. The formation of a bloc of left-wing democratic parties—which consists of revolutionary organization of the working people of Afgahnistan and the organization of Afghan workers—can be referred to as a big achievement".

"New parties have appeared on the political scene: a people's Islamic Party of Afghanistan, and a Peasant Justice Party of Afghanistan. The past year became a period of further strengthening of the country's armed forces, of active involvement of all modes of production in the national economy in economic life".

Afghanistan increases activity at the United Nations Organization and in the Nonaligned Movement, and strengthens relations with Islamic states. National reconciliation has becomne a component of overall international politics.

"At the same time", Najibullah pointed out, "What has been done over the year cannot give a feeling of complete satisfaction. It is essential critically to evaluate the traversed path, to think over the lessons of the past and to derive benefit from them. A critical and turning point in the life of the people has come. The main content of our activities is to solve the strategic tasks of ensuring peace and security, of creating a coalition government and a multi-party system and of consolidating the foundations of the state—independent, neutral and nonaligned".

"The people have got tired of war", Najibullah emphasized, "they want peace and security. The realisation of this aspiration is the meaning of our work and entire life".

Leadership Bodies Send Greetings to Indian Leaders

PM291107 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jan 88 Second Edition p 1

[USSR bodies greet Indian leaders on Republic Day]

[Text] To His Excellency Mr Ramaswamy Venkataraman, President of the Republic of India, and His Excellency Mr Rajiv Gandhi, Prime Minister of the Republic of India.

On behalf of the Soviet people and leadership we send you and, through you, the Indian people and government the most cordial congratulations on Republic Day.

The Republic of India plays an important role in the world community. Its consistent, peace-loving course in international affairs and its constructive initiatives as a member of the Nonaligned Movement and the "Group of Six" have won broad recognition. India's major achievements in the task of developing its economy, science, and education are well known.

The Soviet Union and India are linked by longstanding bonds of friendship and cooperation. Collaboration between the two states in solving today's main problems is an important factor in strengthening the general potential of peace, reason, and goodwill. The multifaceted complex of bilateral cooperation is also working successfully in various other spheres. The Soviet national festival in India and the Indian national festival in the Soviet Union are bright events in the lives of our peoples.

We are confident that the friendly relations between our countries will continue to grow steadily stronger on the basis of the 1971 treaty and the Delhi Declaration on the Principles of a World Free of Violence and Nuclear Weapons.

We wish good health and success to you, esteemed Mr President and Mr Prime Minister, and happiness and prosperity to the great Indian people.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

The USSR Council of Ministers

Saudi Foreign Minister Arrives in Moscow

LD281848 Moscow TASS in English 1836 GMT 28 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 28 TASS—Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal, foreign minister of Saudi Arabia, arrived in Moscow today for a working visit.

He was welcomed at Sheremetyevo Airport by Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Vorontsov and other officials, heads of the diplomatic missions of Arab countries accredited in the Soviet Union.

Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal said to TASS correspondent Viktor Lebedev that he had brought along a message for the Soviet leadership from King Fahd of Saudi Arabia, currently chairman of the Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf, concerning the Palestinian uprising on the occupied Arab lands.

He also delivered a message on the Iran-Iraq conflict.

The visitor expressed the hope that these documents sent on behalf of the leaders of the council member countries would evoke interest of the Soviet side.

Noting that Saudi Arabia and the Soviet Union had had many useful contacts in the recent years, he stressed the immense importance of consultations between the two countries on issues of mutual interest and voiced the hope for their continuation.

"At present, the Arab countries are encountering serious problems and their discussion with the Soviet side has always been important and fruitful," said Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal.

He stressed the important role of the Soviet Union as a great power in safeguarding stability and security around the world. "It is quite possible," the Saudi foreign minister said, "that issues of bilateral relations will be discussed during the visit."

Addition to Ligachev, Lebanese Officials Meeting

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 24 January 1988 carries in its Second Edition on page 4 a TASS report on the meeting of Ye.K. Ligachev with Lebanese officials under the headline "Meeting At CPSU Central Committee". The PRAVDA report has been compared with the Moscow TASS International Service version published in the 25 January Soviet Union Daily Report, page 31, revealing the following addition:

Paragraph one, last line reads in PRAVDA: ...Lebanese Communist Party Central Committee, and with N.A. al-Samad, K. Muruwwah, A. Shuhayb, and S. Taqiy al-Din, members of the leaderships of those parties, who are accompanying them. (supplying names)

Algerian Youth Delegation Meets Yagodin

LD281051 Algiers APS in English 1019 GMT 28 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow, January 28 (APS)—A delegation of the Algerian Youth National Union led by its secretary general, Abderrachid Boukerzaza is presently in working visit for a one week period in USSR.

The delegation in Moscow since Monday was received by the Soviet minister of higher and secondary [specialized] education, G.A. Yagodin. Talks dealt with different aspects of cooperation between the two youth organizations of the two countries.

Also the delegation visited the city of Minsk and is expected Friday in Odessa. It will take part in the Algerian students in USSR annual meeting due to be held January 30th.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Ethiopian Official Thanks USSR For Drought Aid

LD272155 Moscow TASS in English 2027 GMT 27 Jan 88

[Text] Addis Ababa January 27 TASS—Berhanu Jembere, head of Ethiopia's Relief and Rehabilitation Commission, has expressed on behalf of Ethiopian citizens cordial gratitude to the Soviet people for assistance in the efforts to combat drought.

He spoke here today in conjunction with the decision of the USSR to send 250,000 tons of grain to Ethiopia gratis, extend to the end of the current year the stay of the Aeroflot group in Ethiopia, which works under the Relief and Rehabilitation Commission programme, and conduct exploration for water in parched areas. Besides, the Soviet Red Cross will send medicines and baby food to Ethiopia.

Jembere emphasized that assistance was extended by the Soviet Union at the right moment: not less than 5.2 million citizens of Ethiopia needed urgent food aid as a result of the drought that afflicted the country's densely populated northern area. "We take pride in such friends and are confident that they can be relied upon", he said, recalling that during the similar natural disaster of 1984-1985 the USSR was one of the first to come to Ethiopia's help.

The head of the commission said that the situation in the area of the drought was under government control. The commission gave up the practice of setting up permanent relief camps where tens of thousands of people amassed and now distributed food at special centers where peasants come once a month. Voluntary resettlement of people to more fertile ground is going on and remains the key element of the national programme to fight the drought, which is repeating in cycles, and [words indistinct]. Concurrently, large-scale measures to [words indistinct] soil and water bodies and carry (?out reforestation) are being enacted in the north.

East Europe

Officials Arrest 'Fighting Solidarity' Leader

PM290851 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Group Leader Arrested"]

[Text] Warsaw, 27 Jan—A. Kolodziej, one of the leaders of the antisocialist underground group "Fighting Solidarity," has been arrested. This was reported at a news conference given here yesterday for foreign journalists by J. Urban, Polish Government press spokesman.

The detainee has been accused of complicity in smuggling containers of paralyzing gas into Poland, as well as stun guns, bugging devices, and a considerable quantity of duplicating equipment and anti-Polish publications. The contraband articles were found in a trailer detained in Gdansk by the militia after it had entered Poland from Sweden. A. Kolodziej is also accused of using false documents.

K. Szymanski, a "Fighting Solidarity" liaison worker, and K. Morawiecki, one of its leaders, have already been arrested for their involvement in the case.

Polish-Iranian Communique on Gulf Action Cited

LD281144 Moscow TASS in English 1124 GMT 28 Jan 88

[Text] Warsaw January 28 TASS—The foreign ministers of Poland and Iran have declared for the withdrawal of foreign warships from the Persian Gulf and their replacement with a fleet under United Nations command in accordance with the proposed advanced earlier by the Soviet Union, Poland and Iran said in a communique.

The communique was published on Wednesday following the completion of the official visit to Poland by Iran's Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati.

Velayati was received by Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of State of Poland, and Zbigniew Messner, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, and held talks with his Polish counterpart Marian Orzechowski.

During the talks the Polish foreign minister appealed for an immediate ceasefire in the Iran-Iraq war and for the implementation of U.N. Security Council Resolution 598 of July 20, 1987.

The Iranian minister presented Iran's stand on the issue and dwelled on the military presence of the United States and other NATO countries in the Gulf.

Poland and Iran voiced support for the idea of convening an international conference on the Middle East under U.N. auspices. They supported the struggle of southern African peoples against the apartheid and for full liberation of Namibia.

The ministers also discussed some other topical problems of the international situation that had shaped after the signing of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

They emphasised the importance of disarmament initiatives, including the Jaruzelski plan.

Poland and Iran decided to continue political dialogue between the two countries and declared for the further development of bilateral relations in various spheres.

Polish Reforms of Local Government Noted

PM281525 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Polish State Council Session"]

[Text] Warsaw, 23 Jan—The suggestions and comments made during the all-Polish debate regarding amending the "Statute on Elections to People's Councils" were discussed at a Polish Council of State session held here. Proceeding from a desire to further democratize electoral law, the Council of State proposed making amendments to the document and resolved to refer it to the Polish Sejm for approval.

The session also examined the question of amendments to the law on the system of people's councils and territorial self-management regarding the demands at the second stage of the economic reform and the tasks stemming from the 10th PZPR Congress decisions. The chief purpose of the amendments is to strengthen the position and role of the people's councils. Great significance is attached to strengthening their financial position by radically increasing their own incomes. A proposal has been made to guarantee in law the complete independence of the people's councils in utilizing parish and city funds.

Another group of proposed amendments is aimed at strengthening the leading functions of the people's soviets regarding state administration organs: the choice of voivodas from among candidates submitted by the chairman of the Council of Ministers and the reinstatement of the principle of approving at people's council sessions decisions on appointments to posts on local state administration organs. To strengthen the position and independence of people's council members it is proposed to afford them special legal protection.

The Council of State approved the draft amendments to this law and resolved to submit them for nationwide discussion in the very near future.

PZPR's Rakowski on 'Victorious Socialism' Era

PM281401 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 4, 24 Jan 88 p 6

[Interview with PZPR Central Committee member Mieczyslaw Rakowski by Viktor Tsoppi: "Socialism's Fate Depends on Our Changes"]

[Text] Mieczyslaw Rakowski, Member of the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Vice-Marshal of the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic, visited Moscow on the invitation of the Chairmen of the Chambers of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. He met and spoke with state and Party leaders, scientists, and visited the headquarters of several periodicals. Mieczyslaw Rakowski also visited "MOSCOW NEWS" and was interviewed by analyst Viktor Tsoppi.

"MN": The socialist world is witnessing deep changes. These changes are proceeding differently in different countries. The experience of life and political work teaches us that the strength, wealth and universality of socialism lie in the recognition, regard and use of its various models and national varieties. What is your opinion on this matter?

M.R.: It's a complicated question. However, it's better to raise complicated questions than to avoid them. In my opinion, the most interesting and most important aspect of that issue lies in the following: the people who are creating socialism nowadays are beginning to think more rationally than, say, at the turn of the 1930s. It means, in practical terms, that a great amount of very diverse issues previously turned upside down by us are now being set right. I believe that we now open up an epoch which can be called the epoch of a victorious socialism. So far, as we openly admit, this nascent epoch has not yet brought us really satisfactory results in the material sense. We must admit that we're lagging behind in several aspects of the revolutionary progress of science and technology, and are not utilizing all the achievements of that progress, at any rate the achievements which make people's life easier. Our people's life is still hard. The capitalist countries are leading us in quality of life, so far. However, the main and decisive thing is that the process of a turn to realism capable to release the complete potential of the socialist system has started. It has started, first and foremost, inside our heads, in the minds of those who are responsible for leading the state and society, who directly influence the course of the social development.

"MN": As we enter the new epoch of victorious socialism, to use your expression, we must look closer at the decisions made in socialist countries as they conduct reforms. People must be able to have all-sided information concerning the developments in your country, in my country, in Hungary, Cuba, Yugoslavia and China. We mass media people still feel ill at ease when we are required to supply unbiased information about these new developments, as well as analyze them and furnish the information with our own assessments, because we do our work as we did it before, due to inertia typical of the old and rigid type of mentality. Here's just one example. A refrendum on the economic reform and the further democratization of society's life has been recently held in Poland. It was an out-of-common event. Yet we Soviet journalists confined ourselves to yielding very scanty, though precise, reports. Perhaps we feared that our commentaries might not be to some persons' liking or evoke undesired repercussions. Frights of old can stand us only in bad stead.

M.B.: You actually asked me two questions now. The first one concerns reciprocal information, and the second one is about the referendum. I prefer to start with the latter one. The referendum was an exceptionally important event in our modern history. The institution of referendum was in-built in the actual political structures of socialism in Poland. It opens a really new chapter in the interrelations between the authorities and society. Society is given an opportunity of exerting a direct and immediate influence on the decisions made by the authorities. Suppose the society reacts mistakenly to some or other situation at other referendums and thus makes the authorities reckon with that mistaken approach. Mistakes never do good. The society, in that case, will sooner or later realize that the mistake has been its own rather than one committed by the authorities to the detriment of the society and in disregard of the latter's opinion. True, the results of the first referendum were not exactly what we would have preferred them to be. However, even such results have been of invaluable and lasting benefit for us. I consider the outcome of the referendum to be highly positive, having given it a good deal of thought. Why? Because the positive answer to the question "Do you agree to carrying out a reform capable of promoting the national economy to a new stage of its development, but requiring a certain tightening of the belt at first?" given by 12 million people is a huge success, considering the tough economic situation the country is in, involving the necessity to daily overcome numerous and sickening disadvantages like a short supply of some or other consumer articles and omnipresent queues. The outcome of the referendum actually dismissed as false a formerly widespread in the West thesis that the authorities and society are on opposite sides of the barricade in Poland.

Now, let's get back to the former question. It concerns the level of our being informed about each other. It seems to be a very important subject for discussion and thought. It is topical not only for our countries but for the whole socialist community as well. One cannot but wonder at us turning into veritable bureaucrats. I mean us journalists writing on international affairs. The situation is paradoxical. We have long been aware that relations inside our community represent a new type of international relations, that we have overcome all of the various reasons existing here in Europe for centuries, which were generating tensions and supertensions which led to wars. This must be called a really historic achievement on the part of the peoples of socialist countries. However, it is just one side of the coin. Here's what the other side is like. We see that each nation follows its own way, as if going alone, with all our declarations and slogans about cooperation, ties and contacts existing in the background. Paths of tens of millions of people living in our countries very seldom cross, and, frankly speaking, we do not try very hard to understand other nations' fate, needs and cares. We constantly come across our press' descriptions of most complicated, controversial and sometimes even dramatic situations as absolutely conflictless. Journalists have turned into prim diplomats minus special uniforms.

In my opinion, the situation in that sphere is serious enough. We must realize that a change in the very philosophy of our mutual relations is vital. How is it to be done? I think that we will not achieve anything through only adopting some kind of a joint decree by CEMA member-countries. We need something else than fine, unanimously approved declarations. To simplify the matter, I'll put it like this: our cooperation will become a true and extended one only when a young Pole is able to call his pal living in Moscow over the phone and say: "Look here, I'll drop by your place some time tomorrow," and is able to actually do it. The change we are only dreaming of and discussing now will take place in the minds of our countries' people. All are to benefit from it. A basis for a mutual understanding is built only by that simple method. We still lack truly everyday human contacts. Such contacts are vital.

"MN": Wojciech Jaruzelski and Mikhail Gorbachev signed, not very long ago, a document of a vast political importance, the Declaration on Cooperation in the Sphere of Ideology, Science and Culture. One of its major points was the task posed for historians of Poland and the USSR to eliminate "white spots" existing in our common history. There are quite a few such "white spots," and we have been afraid of touching them for a long time, as we have been afraid of "burning our fingers while making associations of various historical facts." Now it's time to part with that inferiority complex. What do you think about that?

M.R.: The signing of the Declaration and the setting up of a joint commission of Soviet and Polish historians have resulted in a sharp decline in an unsound, indeed unsound, interest for those "white spots" of certain periods in our relations with Russia and the Soviet Union. What's more, the Polish press now routinely makes publications which would have been sensational prior to that Declaration.

No matter when the Soviet and Polish historians will arrive at unanimous assessments of certain events, episodes and stages of our common history, the attention to all that, which previously was very intense, is obviously waning. Thus we deprive professional anti-Communists of their daily bread.

Of course, there have been and still are different interpretations of certain historic events and personalities. For example, Suvorov is a hero in your eyes, but not in Poles' eyes. There are quite natural differences, and there's nothing awful about them, in my opinion. These issues are not to be treated in a simplified and egotistic way. Otherwise, it may lead to chauvinistic statements.

"MN": You are writing a book about perestroyka and using your present visit here to collect more material pertaining to the subject. Why did you decide to write this book?

M.R.: The reason is my deepest interest and, I must say, the admiration I feel watching the processes underway in your country since the April 1985 Plenary Meeting. Writing about it is difficult. Do you know why? Suppose I read today a strikingly interesting material concerning perestroyka. Published in your country and think: that must be the climax of the new mentality. After a week, I read another publication and register with myself another bold step, and so my ideas about it need another correction and updating. This is the kind of headaches I have now.

I'm sincerely convinced that the present developments in the USSR are infinitely important for the fate of the world of socialism. In earlier times, all events happening in your country in one way or another also influenced the world situation and especially the positions of the left-wing and progressive forces internationally. We can say that today the Soviet Union is imparting a new impulse of positive development for all progressive movements in the world.

Therefore, I decided to give the process of perestroyka a more comprehensive analysis than is offered by the press which lacks the necessary time because it is compelled to hastily work its 24-hour rhythm and it unavoidably simplifies matters. I aim my book primarily at Polish intellectuals who substantially share in the shaping of public opinion, as well as Soviet intellectuals do in the USSR.

My Moscow visit has been a very fruitful one. I had a number of exceptionally edifying meetings. It feels like a lid has been replaced by perestroika from a cauldron exposing its boiling and bubbling content. Unexpectedly, for me at least, many talented and originally-thinking people have come to the fore. They were waiting for their time, and their time has come. I think that herein lies a guarantee for the success of perestroyka and perestroyka's great strength. The people I'm speaking about believe that perestroyka will unfailingly reach its target. I share their belief.

Husak Thanks Leadership for Birthday Greetings

PM291155 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jan 88 Second Edition p 1

[G. Husak message of thanks for birthday greetings to USSR leaders]

[Text] To Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and Comrade A.A. Gromyko, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR Council of Ministers chairman

Esteemed Comrades,

I thank you with all my heart for your congratulations on my birthday.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium honored me highly by awarding me the Order of Lenin. I see in this a high assessment not only of my work but, above all, of the principled policy of the CPCZ, its contribution to developing and deepening fraternal international ties between of two socialist countries, the achievements of the Czechoslovak people in building a socialist society, and their participation in the common struggle for peace throughout the world.

I am firmly convinced that the traditional relations of sincere friendship and cooperation between the CPCZ and the CPSU and between the CSSR and the USSR will continue to strengthen and deepen for the good of the peoples of our countries and the cause of socialism.

I take this opportunity to wish you, dear Comrades, good health and many new successes in your responsible and intensive work on the implementation of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the strategy of accelerating the socioeconomic development of the Soviet Union, on the revolutionary restructuring and the democratization of public life, and on the consistent implementation of the course to maintain and strengthen peace throughout the world.

G. Husak

CSSR Media Interview Kohl on Bilateral Ties

LD280456 Moscow TASS in English 0011 GMT 28 Jan 88

[Text] Prague January 28 TASS—Time has come to orientate in a new way ties between Czechoslovakia and West Germany, Helmut Kohl, West German federal chancellor, said in an interview with Czechoslovak television. Kohl ended his official visit to Czechoslovakia on Wednesday. We should not forget the lessons of history, respective conclusions should be drawn from them, he said.

One should remember that two thirds of the West German and Czechoslovak population were born and grew up after the war. Certainly, they know history but they are eager to know what the world will be in the next century, what will be their role as citizens of Europe.

Touching upon urgent international problems, Kohl said that both in Czechoslovakia and West Germany, and in the NATO counties the Soviet-U.S. agreement was viewed as the beginning of the new stage in modern politics, which will go along further. West Germany is one of the key NATO members. It has the strongest army, which is second to the United States, has in its inventory conventional types of weapons and numbers half a million people.

But we strive for disarmament. In three weeks, I will speak out for giving approval to the ratification of the Soviet-U.S. treaty in the Senate in Washington. We now have a chance to reach an agreement on intercontinental missiles. I personally favour a 50 percent reduction in this type of weapons. I am sure that we will succeed in moving ahead here. I am a realist but in this issue I have grounds for optimism, the federal chancellor said in conclusion.

New USSR-Hungarian Cultural Ties Outlined
PM290859 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Strong Cooperation"]

[Text] A protocol on cooperation between the USSR Ministry of Culture and the Hungarian Ministry of Culture and Education for 1988 envisages a new level of development in creative ties. It was signed in Moscow on 27 January.

The artiste exchange program envisaged by the document is extensive and varied. For example, the Hungarian public can look forward to meeting the Moldavian SSR's "Zhok" national dance ensemble, the Leningrad Ice Ballet, the USSR Malyy Symphony Orchestra, and the Georgian Chamber Orchestra. The exhibitions "Invincible and Legendary" dedicated to the 70th anniversary of the Soviet Army and "The Portrait in Russian and Soviet Graphic Art" will acquaint Hungarians with work by our country's artists. In their turn the Hungarian Radio Symphony Orchestra and the Bartok Quartet will give performances in the Soviet Union. An amateur orchestra has been invited to Moscow for a traditional festival of music for wind instruments.

Albanians Commemorate Lenin's Death Anniversary
PM281525 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "To V.I. Lenin's Memory"]

[Text] Tirana—V.I. Lenin Memorial Day has been widely celebrated in Albania. ATA reports that meetings and rallies devoted to this date were held in various districts of the country. Readings on the subjects "Lenin and His Cause Will Live Through the Ages," "V.I. Lenin—Leader of the Great October Socialist Revolution," and "Lenin and Albania" were given at enterprises, establishments, and agricultural cooperatives named for the leader of the world proletariat.

Albanian Drought Causes Power Problems
PM281601 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Albania: Complex Situation"]

[Text] Tirana—A complex situation has developed in Albania's power generation, ZERI I POPULLIT, the AWP Central Committee organ reports.

The drought which began last year continued in January also, which led to a sharp fall in the water level in rivers, especially in the Drin River, which is the country's main hydroelectric power artery.

A perceptible reduction in electric power output caused by the water shortage is having an adverse effect on the fulfillment of production targets in all sectors of the country's economy.

West Europe

European Demands for INF Compensation Criticized
LD281949 Moscow TASS in English 1854 GMT 28 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 28 TASS—TASS political news analyst Anatoliy Krasikov writes:

An event took place this week that is called upon to set the course of the development of international relations in the coming months and even years. The supreme legislative bodies of the world's two biggest countries, the Soviet Union and the United States, started the discussion of the Treaty on the Elimination of their Medium- and Shorter-Range Missiles (INF Treaty) signed in Washington on December 8, 1987.

If the treaty is ratified, Europe and the world in general will be rid for the first time ever of two classes of nuclear-missile weapons of the USSR and the U.S. There is one more thing to it which is equally important: The INF Treaty can and, we believe, should become a starting point for a large-scale and dynamic disarmament process, for the solution of key problems, such as the reduction by half of Soviet and American strategic offensive armaments along with the observance of the ABM Treaty, reduction of conventional weapons and the banning of chemical weapons as soon as possible.

There is hardly anyone, at least in Europe, who would openly oppose the Soviet-American treaty and a possible reduction of Soviet and American strategic arsenals. However, this does not mean that all agree to the continuation of a policy aimed at bringing down military confrontation in Europe, to what is now described as "third nuclear zero". Most objections against ridding the European continent of nuclear weapons come from the official circles of Britain and France.

They do not confine themselves to opposing a further advance on the path of nuclear disarmament. Hardly a day passes without more demands of a 'compensation' being put forward. In their opinion, the 'compensation' is aimed at making up for some 'damage' allegedly inflicted on Western Europe by the elimination of American medium- and shorter-range missiles (they seem to be forgetting about the elimination of Soviet missiles).

Representatives of the Social Democratic Party of Finland, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Italian Socialist Party gave a clear answer to those demands. They pointed out in their joint statement that the reduction of medium- and shorter-range missiles and of strategic armaments should not lead to a new round of the arms race in other spheres.

Provisions of this document are consonant with the Stockholm Declaration issued recently by leaders of member countries of the initiative of the six for peace and disarmament—Argentina, Greece, India, Tanzania, Mexico and Sweden. The declaration said that all the countries can and should make their contribution to ensuring the survival of humanity, the consolidation of security and the creation of conditions for a decent life.

These words are worth heeding.

Nicaragua's Ortega on Visit to Spain
LD281725 Moscow TASS in English 1542 GMT 28 Jan 88

[Text] Madrid January 28 TASS—Felipe Gonzales, chairman of the Spanish Government, and Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega have come out in support of the process of a peaceful settlement in Central America.

During their talks here to discuss the situation in the region they expressed readiness to assist the Guatemala accords, reached by the presidents of the five Central American nations, into life.

Gonzales said he is opposed to any aid to contras and urged U.S. Congress to facilitate the fulfillment of the Guatemala accords aimed at achieving a peaceful solution to Central America's problems.

The Spanish head of government commended the position of Nicaragua as "steadfast and worthy".

Ortega said his country has been acting in strict compliance with the Guatemala accords. However, the recent downing in Nicaragua of another trespasser aircraft carrying military cargoes for contras from a neighboring country has shown that some of the participants in the Guatemala meeting have not been honoring their commitments.

Ortega identified Washington's policy of pressure on Central American nations in a bid to scuttle their accords as the principal hindrance to realizing those agreements.

He said that for the barriers to peace to be removed it will be enough if the United States complies with a ruling by the international court of justice that has demanded an end to U.S. aggression against Nicaragua and to U.S. funding for the war in the region.

At a joint news conference on the results of Ortega's two-day visit to Spain Gonzales announced the tentative agreement of his country to share in monitoring the realization of the Guatemala accords if there are no objections from the other four Central American nations.

If they object, Spain will, in accordance with a suggestion by the Nicaraguan president, take part in verifying compliance with the accords just in Nicaragua, Gonzales said.

Ortega voiced the opinion that the results of his talks in Spain will lend a fresh impulse to efforts by Central American nations to achieve peace in the region.

The Nicaraguan president's next stop on his European tour will be in Italy where he will be received in the Vatican by John Paul II.

Spanish Socialist Party Congress Completes Work
PM291215 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Jan 88 Second Edition p 6

[PRAVDA and TASS correspondents V. Chernyshev and R. Serebrennikov dispatch: "Congress Over"]

[Text] Madrid, 24 Jan—The 31st Congress of the ruling Spanish Socialist Workers' Party [PSOE] ended here today. A total of 860 delegates representing 213,000 party members took part in its work.

The foreign guests included a CPSU delegation headed by V.Ya. Pavlov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR State Committee on Foreign Tourism.

The delegates approved documents which define the outlines for party policy in the future.

In the sphere of international relations the PSOE sets its main task as the struggle for peace and human rights throughout the world, progress along the path of disarmament, the elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons, and a substantial reduction in conventional armaments. "This struggle," the final resolution points out, "pursues the goal of establishing a new international economic order by means of cooperation and support for the development of Third World countries."

The Socialists think that in order to establish a new climate of detente it is necessary to secure a reduction in strategic nuclear armaments, support the process of talks in Geneva on a mutual reduction in armed forces and arms in Central Europe, advocate a ban on the production, use, and transfer of chemical weapons, and favor the elaboration of an appropriate treaty in this sphere. They regard CSCE as the main instrument for the development of the policy of detente on the continent,

insist on the strict observance of the spirit and letter of the ABM Treaty, and think that the conclusion of a treaty banning antisatellite weapons systems is necessary.

The congress assessed the Spanish Government's accession to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty as an "important contribution to strengthening peace and international detente." The Spanish Socialists also advocated the cessation and complete banning of nuclear testing.

The congress' resolution on domestic problems proclaimed the main task to be the achievement by the end of this century of the economic level of the most developed European countries. High rates of economic development must be maintained in order for Spain to be able to secure an improvement in the population's material situation and combat growing unemployment.

The congress elected leading party organs. Ramon Rubial has once again been elected PSOE chairman and Felipe Gonzalez, PSOE general secretary.

Howe Remarks on NATO Forces Criticized

LD281911 Moscow TASS in English 1844 GMT 28 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 28 TASS—BY TASS Military Writer Vladimir Bogachev:

British Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe has said that following the signature of the Soviet-U.S. treaty to abolish intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles Britain intends to press for modernizing NATO's nuclear forces not covered by the agreement.

Several years ago a prominent West European politician argued that the laws of the capitalist world's economy in each historical period required that military spending be maintained at a certain level and cuts in any one area must be inevitably "compensated" by a corresponding step up in military preparations in another.

Referring to the economic laws of capitalism as a way to substantiate this concept is hardly convincing. But it remains a fact that the "theory" suits arms merchants, militarists and the ideological opponents of arms reduction perfectly well.

It is curious that they now call for a pause in the arms control process, pleading the need for time to do an "intellectual re-think" on the results of the Washington summit.

It is difficult to say which category of the advocates of "compensation" the British foreign secretary belongs to. But it is crystal clear that he wouldn't like to see military confrontation in Europe scaled down.

Speaking to a special committee of the British Parliament, he even urged NATO members not to yield to Soviet pressure for further nuclear disarmament steps.

It followed from a PRESS ASSOCIATION report that the chief British diplomat is concerned also about the prospect of his country contributing to the nuclear disarmament process as well.

Soviet leaders have stressed repeatedly that nobody denies the British Government the right to self-defense. But the policy of whipping up the nuclear arms race and the right to self-defense are not the same. Moreover, they are directly opposite in substance.

The purpose of Soviet peace initiatives is not, of course, to make people a little anxious, as Margaret Thatcher claimed several days ago.

That the British head of government and her foreign secretary have been perturbed by the prospect of a nuclear-free Europe is regrettable.

War Crimes Procurator Meets With UK MPs

LD291343 Moscow TASS in English 1304 GMT 29 Jan 88

[Text] London January 29 TASS—A representative of the Soviet Procurator's Office, N. Kolesnikova, who is engaged in the search of Nazi war criminals, has met here with a group of British parliamentarians.

The goal of the first such contact was to inform the British side of the possibility of receiving from the Soviet Union evidence concerning individuals, now living in Britain, who had committed crimes during World War II.

Kolesnikova said that, according to the Soviet side's information, several dozen Nazi war criminals, who had committed grave crimes on the territory of the USSR and other European countries, were now living in Britain, hiding from retribution.

One of them is the Nazi collaborator Antanas Gecevicius (Anthony Gikas), who served in punitive units and is guilty of mass killings of civilians in Lithuania and Belorussia.

There is irrefutable evidence and witness accounts confirming the guilt of the war criminals. The Soviet Union is ready to present them to the British Government.

Italian Fears E. Bloc Response to F-16 Transfer
PM281535 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Own correspondent V. Pershin dispatch under the rubric "Abreast of Events": "Unjustified Intentions"]

[Text] Rome—Despite government attempts to take the edge off the question of 72 F-16 fighter bombers currently stationed at the Torrejon U.S. Air Force base in Spain possibly being transferred to Italy, the polemics surrounding this problem are becoming increasingly widespread.

Representatives of various political parties are demanding that the government explain the situation and make its intentions known without waiting for U.S. Defense Secretary F. Carlucci's planned visit to Rome on 4 February when, according to the local press, the American side may place the F-16 question "on a practical footing." A letter sent by Socialist L. Lagorio, chairman of the Chamber of Deputies Defense Commission, to Defense Minister V. Zanone emphasizes, in particular, that the transfer of the F-16's to Italy could be seen by the socialist countries as a violation of the existing military balance between East and West and force the Warsaw Pact to take appropriate countermeasures.

According to Italian military experts, L. Lagorio's fears are not unfounded. As is well-known, the F-16 is one of the most sophisticated aircraft in this class in service with NATO. Fitted with the most up-to-date electronic equipment, it travels at twice the speed of sound. It has a range of 925 km. This is considerably increased when the aircraft is refueled in the air. It has a bomb load (this includes nuclear missiles) of 5,400 kg. Naturally, specialists point out, the socialist states are hardly likely to silently swallow the news that this powerful strike force is being moved closer to their borders.

"The Italian Communist Party," states a document prepared by its commission on foreign policy issues and international relations, "considers it essential that Italy contribute to progress in disarmament talks that have the aim of ensuring a military balance between NATO and the Warsaw Pact at the lowest possible level by means of a balanced reduction and not a unilateral arms buildup."

According to representatives of the "Greens" movement, the stationing of the F-16's in Italy cannot be justified, either from the standpoint of enhancing its security or from that of strengthening international stability.

Quoting diplomatic sources, the newspaper LA REPUBBLICA writes that the F-16 problem, which has only recently burst to the surface, is not so new for Italy: A preliminary discussion was held on the subject with the United States during V. Zanone's visit there at the end of last year. The minister has refused to comment on this report, saying that he will set out the government's position at a special session of the parliamentary defense commission due to be held at the beginning of next week.

Italian CP's Natta Thanks Gorbachev for Message
PM291359 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jan 88 Second Edition p 1

[Italy's Natta thanks Gorbachev for birthday congratulations]

[Text] To Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Dear Comrade Gorbachev!

I cordially thank you for the congratulations sent to me on my 70th birthday and for the important words with which you described my activity and the activity of Italian Communists. I would particularly like to thank your party and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium for the great honor you have accorded me by awarding me the lofty Order of the October Revolution.

I fully agree with you that our efforts in today's world must primarily be channelled into ensuring a peaceful future for mankind. We highly value your personal contribution and the work done by the Soviet Government in this regard and in the task of thoroughly renewing the experience of socialist construction. For our part, we too would like to strengthen and develop the relations of friendship and cooperation between the Italian Communist Party and the CPSU, with both parties retaining their independence.

In anticipation of the opportunity to discuss these and other issues of mutual interest with you directly, I am happy to give you my very best wishes for success in your noble, most important activity, as well as good health.

I once again confirm my feelings of respect and friendship for you.

With most cordial greetings,

Yours, Alessandro Natta.

Sweden's Schori Briefs Press on Security Issues
PM291627 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 January 1988 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by unnamed TASS correspondent: "Dialogue Was Useful"]

[Text] Stockholm, 28 Jan (TASS): Pierre Schori, the secretary general of the Swedish Foreign Affairs Ministry, held a briefing for Swedish and foreign journalists today. The briefing focused heavily upon the security of northern Europe in the light of Soviet initiatives, set forth by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in Murmansk during October

of last year. The Swedish diplomat drew attention to the new proposals expounded by N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, during his recent official visit to Sweden—proposals designed to give an extra boost to the Murmansk initiatives and switch them to a practical channel.

In this connection Pierre Schori positively assessed the continuation of the dialogue with the Soviet Union on the problems of strengthening security in the north European region. This also concerns the new proposals, particularly the proposal made by the Soviet side, with due regard to the Nordic countries' views, to include the Barents Sea in the zone of confidence-building measures in the north. The Swedish side on the whole regards confidence-building measures as a very important element, and the proposals advanced by N.I. Ryzhkov during his visit are being studied attentively and will be discussed with the governments of other north European states. At the same time, P. Schori emphasized Sweden's obvious interest in resolving questions of security, including in the naval sphere, on a broader, multilateral basis—at the United Nations, for example, or within the framework of the all-European process.

Replying to questions about the creation of a nuclear-free zone in northern Europe, Pierre Schori pointed out that, in line with the Swedish position, the creation of such a zone must, first of all, provide for withdrawing from the Baltic Sea all submarines with nuclear weapons on board and for measures on the reduction of the military presence in the regions adjacent to the European north where, in particular, small-range nuclear weapons are sited. At the same time, the Swedish side never insisted on automatically counting the strategic nuclear weapons and systems in creating a nuclear-free zone. Even though the Reagan administration always took a negative stand on the idea of creating such a zone, the parliaments and governments of Nordic countries intend to continue efforts in this direction, taking into account the political aspects and positions of each side.

According to Pierre Schori, the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, signed in Washington, creates new possibilities for solving many important problems of European security. However, after the removal of these missiles, tactical nuclear weapons and nuclear cruise missiles remain, in particular, aboard the naval vessels of the US and NATO in the North Atlantic. Consequently, this adds urgency to the proposal to create a corridor free of battlefield nuclear weapons in Central Europe. The same applies to the issue of a nuclear-free zone which until now has not been regarded as an isolated case, but has been considered in the broader European context, taking account of the general climate in East-West relations. Therefore, the questions of battlefield nuclear weapons, sea-based nuclear missiles and stability in conventional weapons may soon become even more urgent.

P. Schori also expressed satisfaction in connection with the signing of a number of Soviet-Swedish documents during the Soviet head of government's visit to Sweden, including the intergovernmental agreement on the principles of demarcation of sea areas in the Baltic, which, he said, is significant from the viewpoint of political security, is economically advantageous, and accords with the principles of international law.

French Parliamentarians Meet Demichev

PM281635 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jan 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "French Parliamentarians in Moscow"]

[Text] French parliamentarians' great interest in the Soviet Union's restructuring process determined the main topic of the conversation they had on 27 January with P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Receiving the French National Assembly National Defense Commission delegation, he stressed that the main aim of the transformations being made in the life of Soviet society is to fully reveal socialism's potential, bring it fully into play, and use it to the greatest effect for the good of Soviet people.

It was also pointed out that the renewal process is not going smoothly and that difficulties are being encountered on the way. There will be no deviation, however, because the restructuring process has the people's support and is in their vital interests.

The guests were given detailed answers to their questions concerning enterprises' profit, their economic independence, their direct links with foreign partners, cadre policy, price formation, cooperative activity, and a number of other questions.

During the conversation, attention was also paid to the development of democracy and glasnost in the Soviet Union as one of the main elements of restructuring and to certain aspects of Marxist-Leninist theory governing the development of socialist society.

They noted the deep internal link between solving the tasks of accelerating socioeconomic development in the Soviet Union and improving the international climate and strengthening peace and trust between states and nations.

The head of the delegation—commission chairman F. Fillon—thanked the Soviet side for the conversation. He noted its usefulness with regard to gaining a deeper insight into present Soviet reality. This is no less important for us than the exchange of opinions on disarmament problems in the USSR Supreme Soviet the day before, he said.

Yves Pagniez, French ambassador to the Soviet Union, took part in the conversation.

Meet With Dobrynin

PM291029 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jan 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "French Parliamentarians in Moscow]

[Text] On 27 January A.F. Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities Foreign Affairs Commission, received the French National Assembly National Defense Commission delegation led by commission chairman F. Fillon.

V.V. Zagladin, member of the CPSU Central Committee, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, and secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union Foreign Affairs Commission, and Yu.I. Zuyev, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, took part in the conversation.

During a lively exchange of opinions on security, cooperation, and disarmament problems and the role played by Soviet-French dialogue in present-day conditions, both sides noted that, as nuclear powers and permanent members of the Security Council and as major European powers, the Soviet Union and France bear special responsibility for preserving peace and improving the international climate.

It was noted that there is mutual understanding between our countries as a whole regarding the positive significance of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles and the need to work to ensure the implementation of this treaty, a reduction in strategic nuclear arms, a reduction in armed forces and conventional weapons, and the banning and elimination of chemical weapons.

The Soviet side noted that a new approach to the problems of security and disarmament and new thinking founded on the community of interests shared by all countries and peoples in averting the nuclear threat, creating a nuclear-free world, and ensuring security by political means have principled importance in the nuclear age.

The process of real nuclear disarmament which has now begun will not damage the security interests of any country, but will help to strengthen security in Europe and the rest of the world. The USSR does not lay claim to greater security than that of Western Europe or the United States, but it will not consent to less security.

The head of the French delegation noted that France is in favor of a reduction in nuclear arsenals—primarily by the USSR and the United States—but considers it essential to maintain the existence of nuclear arms at a certain level as a "deterrence factor." He put forward a series of provisions and conditions for French involvement in the disarmament process and justified the French nuclear arms modernization program. The Soviet side said that it considers doctrines based on "nuclear deterrence" and a continued nuclear arms buildup to be at variance with the international public's desire to eliminate the nuclear danger.

Opinions were also exchanged on ways to develop all-European cooperation and strengthen confidence-building measures in Europe and to develop Soviet-French relations as an important factor for peace and security in Europe and throughout the world.

A.F. Dobrynin noted that restructuring is opening up new opportunities to develop mutually advantageous cooperation between the Soviet Union and France and other countries in all spheres: political, economic, and humanitarian. We are in favor of making full use of these opportunities and giving Soviet-French relations a new dynamism. We would like to be able to count on the French side's reciprocity in this.

Both sides noted the constructive, useful nature of the meetings and conversations betwen the Soviet and French parliamentarians. It was agreed to continue the exchange of opinions in Paris and Moscow respectively.

The conversation was attended by Yves Pagniez, French ambassador to the Soviet Union.

Interviewed by TASS

LD281834 Moscow TASS in English 1724 GMT 28 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 28 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yuriy Maximov:

Francois Fillon, leader of a French parliamentary delegation visiting here, said today that their trip, prompted by the keen interest in the Soviet policy of perestroyka among the French MP's, aims to get first-hand knowledge about the changes under way here.

Fillon is chairman of the French National Assembly's commission on national defense and armed forces and the delegation includes members of that commission.

"We have had very interesting conversations which focused on two principal themes—perestroyka, which is exceptionally important to us, and arms control and security in Europe," he said an a TASS interview.

"France and the Soviet Union differ on the latter issue, but we can still say that our objectives are identical: Both sides seek to find solutions that will make it possible to reduce the risk of outbreak of conlfict in Europe and even remove it altogether."

Fillon said there was a special interest in France in the evolution of glasnost, or public openness, which is, in his opinion, a significant part of the process of defusing international tension.

The French parliamentarian pointed to a direct connection between the processes unfolding in the Soviet Union and improvements in the international climate. "Perestroyka in the USSR can create conditions for more trust between East and West," he said.

He called for building trust between his country and the Soviet Union on a solid basis. In this connection. Fillon said, it was essential to work to lessen political disagreements between them, step up contacts and information exchanges, and consolidate economic, cultural and other ties.

"At the same time it is imperative to work to reduce arms, making sure that the reductions will be balanced," he added.

Fillon's delegation is the first from the French parliament's commission on national defense and armed forces in the post-war period.

While in Moscow, it was received at the Supreme Soviet (parliament) of the USSR, the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and the Foreign Ministry.

Today the French MP's left for Leningrad where they will stay until January 30.

FRG Warships Remain in Mediterranean

LD291047 Moscow TASS in English 1038 GMT 29 Jan 88

[Text] Bonn January 29 TASS—Five FRG warships, now in the Mediterranean Sea, are for the time being to stay in the region and will not return to permanent base. The planned withdrawal of American warships from the Persian Gulf does not give cause for calling off West German ships from the Mediterranean, an official representative of the FRG Ministry said in a DDP interview.

FRG warships are staying in the Mediterranean not only to give assistance to the United States and to help the American fleet in furthering its tasks in the Persian Gulf but also to hold a number of naval exercises to train the personnel, he underlined.

Cypriot Minister Lauds USSR's Cyprus Initiative

PM281505 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 3

[TASS report: "High Appraisal" under rubric "Cypriot Foreign Minister on Soviet Initiative"]

[Text] Nicosia, 24 Jan—Cypriot Foreign Minister Yeoryios Iakovou has highly appraised the Soviet proposals on the principles of a settlement of the Cyprus problem and the ways to achieve such a settlement which were put forward 2 years ago.

Both at bilateral relations level and on a broad international scale, the USSR has always, throughout the development of the Cyprus problem consistently defended a just, lasting settlement, the minister said in a conversation with our TASS correspondent. The Soviet proposals have been positively appraised by the Cypriot Government, as they reflect a deep understanding of the island's problem.

In order to solve the international aspects of the Cyprus problem, Y. Iakovou continued, the USSR has proposed the convocation of an international conference under the aegis of the United Nations which would demand the complete withdrawal of all foreign troops from Cyprus and work out effective guarantees to preserve Cypriot independence and territorial integrity. President S. Kiprianou has proposed the total demilitarization of Cyprus. This proposal could be discussed at an international conference. The unity, integrity, and nonaligned status of the Republic of Cyprus must be respected in practice, the minister emphasized.

Y. Iakovou welcomed the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. He reaffirmed the stand taken by the Cypriot Government, which has approved this historic step taken by the two great powers. The link between international problems, regional conflicts, and arms issues is well-known. We share the opinion of those who believe the treaty signed in Washington will create the kind of climate conducive to solving problems in various parts of the globe, the Cypriot foreign minister said in conclusion.

Latin America & Caribbean

Soltan Condemns U.S. Support for Contras

LD281518 Moscow World Service in English 1410 GMT 28 Jan 88

[Text] The American President has sent a request to Congress asking for more aid to the Nicaraguan contras, United States hired mercenaries waging the war in Nicaragua. Yuriy Soltan has this comment:

Officially the requested money will be spent on what is termed as humanitarian purposes but actually a considerable part of the requested $36.2 million will be used on the purchases and the delivery of more consignments of weapons to the contras. They will include anti-aircraft missiles of the Redeye class, which were fired at civilian planes on many occasions. What puts us on the look out is the time which the White House chose for appealing to Congress. In keeping with the decisions of the leaders of Central American states, the Nicaraguan Government is taking active steps to fill the national reconciliation policy proclaimed by it with concrete contents. Certain noticeable shifts have already been made in that direction, but as the American congressman, David Bonior, has aptly put it, a new dollar injection to the contras is the gun aimed at the peace process.

Hearing that the Congress, where the dissatisfaction with the White House's policy is mounting will kill the administration's request, leaders of the contras have started maneuvering. At first they ignored the proposal of the Nicaraguan Government to hold direct negotiations and discuss a cease-fire. But now they've agreed and the first round of the negotiations opens in Costa Rica later today. But the conditions put forward by the contra leaders give reasons to doubt the sincerity of the peace making intentions. Nicaragua is Central America's bleeding wound. The flames of war raging there poison the entire international atmosphere. Instead of helping to put them out the Reagan administration seems to want to deliver another blow on the process of a peace settlement.

Contra Stands May 'Imperil' Negotiations

LD290713 Moscow TASS in English 0658 GMT 29 Jan 88

[Text] Havana January 29 TASS—TASS correspondent Igor Pshenichenikov reports: The first day of ceasefire negotiations between Nicaragua's governmental delegation and contras' leaders ended yesterday with no accord reached. According to reports reaching here, the governmental delegation put forward realistic and mutually acceptable proposals for reaching ceasefire in Nicaragua within the shortest time possible. But leaders of Somoza gangs, acting on Washington's instructions, tried to impose upon the Sandinist Government discussion of Nicaragua's internal policy. Earlier, the head of the governmental delegation, Deputy Foreign Minister of Nicaragua Victor Hugo Tinoco said that his government did not intend to discuss questions of domestic policy with armed counter-revolutionaries, financed and masterminded by the United States, since that would signify flouting of Nicaragua's sovereignty. In this connection political observers express apprehension that the stand of the contras' leaders might imperil the ceasefire negotiations.

The governmental delegation proposed that mixed commissions be formed to exercise control over compliance with the agreement, with the participation of representatives of the authorities and contras, in order to guarantee ceasefire as a means to enable members of counter-revolutionary groups to start peaceful life. On their part, carrying out the scenario elaborated by the White House, counter-revolutionary leaders are trying to use negotiations as a tool of exerting gross pressure on Nicaragua to make its government to turn off the road of revolutionary transformations.

Nicaragua To Permit New Radio, Publications

LD281443 Moscow TASS in English 1329 GMT 28 Jan 88

[Text] Managua January 28 TASS—TASS correspondent Andrey Kurguzov reports:

The Nicaraguan Interior Ministry issued permits for the operation of ten independent radio stations expressing opinion of political opposition quarters and four publications.

The first issues of the private weeklies COSTAL DE NOTICIAS and COSAS DE FARANDULA, as well as magazines SOLIDARIDAD and REPORTERO will be put out in the near future. The decision by the Nicaraguan Government refutes allegations by domestic reaction and imperialist propaganda about absence of democracy and freedom of speech in Nicaragua.

This goodwill move by the national leadership is a graphic proof of Nicaragua's desire for fulfilling the Guatemalan agreements to find ways for achieving a lasting peace in Central America and further democratization of the country. After lifting the state of emergency and amnesty of Somozan criminals, opening of the new mass media virtually deprives opponents of Sandinista revolution of arguments enabling them to accuse the government of non-observance of the Guatemalan understandings and unwillingness to follow the road to changes.

Chilean Communists Call for Unity

PY271627 Moscow in Spanish to Chile 2130 GMT 26 Jan 88

[Text] The Communist Party of Chile [PCCh] has reiterated its proposal to reach agreement with all democratic forces on a joint position vis-a-vis the presidential plebiscite that Pinochet intends to implement in 1988.

The PCCh communique reiterates: We have been, and we are, the promoters of a broad unity and the concerted actions of all political and social opposition forces.

The PCCh adds: We are announcing to the opposition parties that we are willing to participate in an agreement that will lead to a joint position vis-a-vis the plebiscite.

In the opinion of the PCCh, 1988 must be the year of the great agreement, the year of generosity with the fatherland and the people. The path to victory involves reaching agreement.

Nevertheless, adds the PCCh communique, the unity will serve no purpose unless there is social mobilization. This is the only way to defeat fraud, to impose justice and liberty, to create new jobs, and to have bread for our children.

Political & Social

Politburo Considers Fuel Resources, Economy

LD282049 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 28 Jan 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] In the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. At a sitting of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo held on 28 January, an examination was made of the progress achieved in fulfilling party and government decisions on economizing on raw material and fuel-power resources. The task set by the 27th party congress of making resource-saving the main means of satisfying the national economy's growing requirements in electrical power, fuel, metal and other types of raw and processed materials, is acquiring particular topicality at the present time.

However, a number of ministries, departments and union republic councils of ministers, and many enterprises and associations are failing to take account of the national economic significance of economic and rational utilization of resources, are carrying out work sluggishly and without initiative, and are making poor use of economic levers to provide an incentive for such work. As a result, the materials intensity power-output ratio for output produced are considerably higher than the targets set and world levels. Advanced experience in setting up wide dissemination of resource-saving equipment and progressive technology is being underestimated. Development of, and a policy of producing, new equipment, machines and mechanisms which are not up to today's requirements in their materials intensity and power consumption are persisting. Proper attention is not being paid to the broad utilization of secondary resources, for which there is great scope.

It was proposed to the leaders of ministries, departments, enterprises and organizations that they carry out immediate economic, organizational, technical and educational measures for making economic use of the national wealth and eliminating the lag incurred, with fulfilment of tasks in resource-saving and in reducing the materials intensity of output produced. Under the conditions of the radical economic reform, the struggle for a policy of economy should become one of the main areas of work in every economic subunit and every party organization.

The Politburo examined and approved the government's proposals for radically restructuring foreign economic advertising. Note was made of the need to increase the role played by advertising as an efficient means of promoting competitive Soviet-made goods and services on the foreign market. Measures were charted for refining financing, for developing the material and technical base and for stimulating activities in the sphere of foreign economic advertising. The particular attention of the ministries and departments, the union republic councils of ministers and the USSR chambers of trade and industry was drawn to the need for a radical change in the situation in this work.

The Politburo supported proposals by the AUCCTU, the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, the USSR Academy of Sciences and the All-Union Council of Scientific and Technical Societies, based on the views of broad public circles, to establish a Union of Scientific and Engineering Societies of the USSR. It was deemed appropriate to propose this matter for examination by the forthcoming seventh All-Union Congress of Scientific and Technical Societies.

Issues related to enhancing the effectiveness of the USSR's participation in the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO] were examined. It was noted that the active work of the USSR within the framework of this large specialized UN institution is aimed at helping to create a new atmosphere for cooperation in the humanitarian sphere, to assert moral and ethical principles in world policies, and to resolve global problems common to all mankind. This is particularly important now when the first real results in the cause of reducing nuclear arms have been achieved. UNESCO must become a true center for intellectual cooperation in the world, prevent the erosion of cultural values of the peoples, and promote the dissemination of the latest world achievements within the areas of its competence.

The Politburo approved the results of Comrade Ryzhkov's talks with Swedish Prime Minister Carlsson and Norwegian Prime Minister Harlem Bruntlandt, and his conversations with other Swedish and Norwegian political and public figures and representatives of business circles, which took place during the official visits to those countries. A considerable degree of mutual understanding on cardinal international issues and the evaluation of new and favorable trends in the world was attained both with Sweden and Norway. The importance was stated of developing actively a political dialogue and contacts at all levels with both countries in the interests of turning into practical deeds the military-political and civic aspects of the Murmansk initiatives put forward by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in October 1987 and specified in the course of the visit by the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers to Sweden and Norway. The expediency was stressed of expanding trade, economic, scientific and technical cooperation, including cooperation with other northern countries, with the purpose of implementing large-scale projects for developing the mineral resources of the Kola Peninsula, extracting oil and gas from sea shelf, and in other areas.

The Politburo also examined the issue of publishing the social, political and popular science magazine RODINA. The historical, internationalist and patriotic education of young people, and propaganda of the revolutionary, combat and labor traditions of the Communist Party and

the Soviet people are the main tasks of the magazine. The magazine will be published starting from mid-1988 as a publication of the PRAVDA newspaper.

Certain other issues of economic and social policy and also those of the foreign political activity of our party and state were discussed at the sitting of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo.

MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA Reports Zaykov Activities

Visits Machine-Building Plant

PM291055 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jan 88 p 1

[TASS report: "On Front Lines of Technical Progress"]

[Excerpts] The collective of the M.V. Khrunichev machine-building plant is renowned in the capital for its labor achievements. [passage omitted]

On 20 January L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom, familiarized himself with the work of the plant's collective. There was an examination of questions connected with the enterprise's transition to the new conditions of economic management and with modernization and retooling of production.

In talks with workers and specialists the importance was noted of further reducing the level of manual labor, which in some shops is still quite high, of stepping up the pace of renewal of the pool of equipment, of persistently introducing economic accountability [khozraschet] within the production facility, and of saving manpower and material resources.

The expansion of the range of consumer goods and the improvement of their quality, including through the use of production waste, should be under the party committee's special control. So far the machine builders are not fully satisfying these requirements.

The task has been set of elaborating in the very near future a general plan for the intensification of the enterprise's socioeconomic development, which is a component of the "Progress-95" comprehensive territorial-sector program which is now being created to enhance the effectivenes of all sectors of the capital's economy.

The collective's initiative in bringing closer the fulfillment of a program task—providing each family with an individual apartment by the year 2000—deserves approval. This task will be fulfilled a 5-year plan earlier—by 1995—through the substantial development of the economic method of construction and the creation of young people's housing complexes.

In assimilating new forms and methods of work under the operating conditions of the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association), the machine builders are launching competition for the ahead of schedule fulfillment of the year's targets among the teams, sectors, and shops, and a fitting greeting to the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

Addresses Plan Conference

PM291109 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 22 Jan 88 p 1

[MOSTASS report: "'Progress-95': Guidelines of Effectiveness"]

[Excerpts] The "Progress-95" comprehensive territorial-sectorial program for enhancing the effectiveness of all sectors of the capital's economy in the current and forthcoming 5-year plans is designed to become an important link in the general plan for the development of the capital's region for the period through 2010. The priority measures for its implementation were discussed at a conference of leaders of party, soviet, and economic organs, scientists, and specialists in the field of planning and economic problems held at the Moscow party gorkom. [passage omitted]

The conference was addressed by L.N. Zaykov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom.

Visits Textile Combine

PM291031 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jan 88 p 1

[MOSTASS report: "Facets of Renewal"]

[Excerpts] Crucial tasks must now be resolved at the new stage of restructuring by the country's light industry workers, including the collectives of the capital's enterprises of that sector. The course outlined by the party toward raising Soviet people's well-being and comprehensively satisfying their requirements demands that the production of high-quality consumer goods be developed at an accelerated rate. Further headway is impossible without the retooling of the capital's light industry enterprises, the in-depth introduction of new methods of economic management, and the comprehensive solution of all social questions.

It was these problems which were the focus of meetings and talks which L.N. Zaykov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom, had at the shops of the "Trekhgornaya manufaktura" combine. [passage omitted]

Frank talks with the workers and specialists revealed the reasons preventing the acceleration of socioeconomic development, the introduction of new methods of economic management, and the further democratization of society. There are enough unresolved problems here at the moment. The technically backward ginning production facility is preventing the fundamental improvement of the quality of the textiles produced and the expansion of their range. Last year's profit plan has not been fulfilled. The necessary storage premises are lacking. [passage omitted]

Specific recommendations were voiced aimed at revealing and using the internal reserves for improving production. Many questions can and must be resolved by the combines's party and trade union organizations and economic leaders. In particular questions of the further improvement of the quality of output and a considerable increase in the production volumes of textiles in heightened demand are acute. Much has to be done to strengthen manufacturing discipline, to reduce losses from spoilage, and to cut back on production waste. To resolve social problems it is essential to develop the economic method of construction, especially in putting the combine's children's institutions and hostels and other sociocultural and consumer services establishments in order. The USSR Ministry of Light Industry has been instructed to render effective aid in introducing new methods of economic management at the "Trekhgorka" to ensure that the collective feels their advantages to the full.

The task has been set of substantially accelerating the combine's modernization and retooling. The special attention of the leaders of the sectorial ministry and enterprise was drawn to the importance of taking every step for the speediest solution of the housing problem. Here the Moscow Gorispolkom and Rayispolkom should render effective aid. The Krasnaya Presnya textile workers are building up their efforts in competition for a fitting greeting to the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

L.N. Zaykov met with Bureau members and the apparatus of the Krasnopresnenskiy CPSU Raykom. There was an examination of questions connected with enhancing the party organizations' role in leading restructuring and improving forms and methods of political work among the masses and the structure of the party organs. It was emphasized that the party raykom should resolutely avoid an office-bound style, keep its finger on the pulse of the life of the primary organizations and labor collectives, and seek the specific solution of the problems which have accumulated in the rayon, and there are many of them in the economic and social spheres and in educational work with the population. The raykom is still making only feeble use of the scientific-technical and spiritual potential existing in Krasnaya Presnya. It is necessary to learn more rapidly to work under the conditions of glasnost, democracy, and the operation of the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association) and to develop the new economic thinking in cadres. The influence of the raykom and rayispolkom should be focused on concern for working people and the persistent solution of acute problems like the modernization of housing stock, the resettling of residents of numerous communal apartments, and the provision of amenities and greenery for residential areas. In accordance with the main avenues of work of Moscow's working people in 1988, the Krasnaya Presnya people are increasing their contribution to the solution of tasks affecting the whole city.

On the anniversary of the start of the 1905 revolution flowers were laid at the monument to the heroes of Krasnaya Presnya. [passage omitted]

Reasons, Lessons of Cancellation of Krasnodar AES
PM271055 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jan 88 Second Edition p 6

[Own correspondent K. Aksenov dispatch under the rubric "Commenting on an Event:" "All Quiet Over Perepravnaya"]

[Text] Krasnodar Kray—The official statement on the construction of a power complex in Krasnodar Kray reads: "The USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for the Fuel and Power Complex has discussed the question of the design and construction of a nuclear power station in Krasnodar Kray. In view of the likelihood of seismic activity in the chosen zone and the insufficiently detailed scientific investigation of the entire range of problems that was carried out at the design stage, the Bureau has adopted a decision not to proceed with the construction of a nuclear power station in that region..."

At the time the decision to build an AES in the Kuban was adopted with haste. The public at large sounded the alarm. The editorial office and the correspondent's office in Krasnodar were inundated with protest letters and telegrams, and visitors multiplied. Even people who are far from understanding the finer points of the construction of this kind of project were asking sensible questions which could not be shrugged off. The complex was to be built in the foothills of North Caucasus. However, readers objected, this area is prone to earthquakes. It is true, they said, that the design includes certain measures to increase resistance to earthquakes, but are they sufficient? Are the risks that are being taken not too great? After all, it is difficult to forecast the destructive force of earthquakes.

Unfortunately, until the tragedy in Chernobyl the competent departments did not listen much to the voice of the public. The sober advice of specialists and scientists that detailed research was necessary and that an economic feasibility study should be drawn up to determine the expediency of building the planned project was not heeded. Although a heated debate arose around the project, the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification and other departments pretended that nothing was happening.

Worse still, aware of the numerous public petitions to discontinue the construction of the project and of rumors, including absurd rumors, the ministry started "forcing the pace" at the construction site. As a result they managed to spend a total of more than R14 million.

The end of the story is well known. It is, of course, a bitter lesson for those who worked on the design of the project without taking the whole range of problems into account. It would be possible to end the story about the doomed project here. But readers are, no doubt, asking themselves what will happen to the facilities that have been completed? Let me say that the bulk of the money that was spent will not be lost. For one thing it was invested in the construction of housing and social service facilities for the inhabitants of the settlement. For another thing, work on the site will apparently go on. It has been decided to build a GRES with a capacity of 2-2.5 million kilowatts here which will operate on fossil fuel. However, scientists and specialists will have to carry out a detailed study of seismic and other conditions at the site where the project is to be built.

There is another problem which ought to be mentioned.

In recent decades, under pressure from ministries and departments, the rural region has been rapidly transforming into an industrial zone. Central agencies are "forging ahead" here with the construction of major enterprises, which is placing a strain on the energy sitatuion in the region. It cannot be denied that the party kraykom and the krayispolkom are sometimes forced to retreat in the face of pressure "from above."

Large areas of invaluable black soils which produce excellent yields of famed wheat, sugar beets, sunflowers, and other crops are used as construction sites. The new plants and combines are diverting young rural cadres onto the shop floor. Villages are being deserted, people who have been farming for generations are leaving the farmsteads. Kolkhoz and sovkhoz leaders regard as a special evil the "shuttles" which carry thousands of former agricultural workers and stockmen every morning from stations and farmsteads to work in the cities. The result is alarming: A number of farms are already experiencing an acute shortage of specialists in the basic agricultural professions. What solution is there? It is necessary to stop the "industrialization" of the Kuban, preserving its honorable reputation as the country's granary which supplies the working people's table with varied products.

The lesson of the construction of the Krasnodar AES has taught us a great deal, above all about the quality of design work in the nuclear power industry. The decision not to build the AES in no way discredits the development of the nuclear power industry in the country because neither the present nor the forseeable future are thinkable without nuclear power stations. The need to be extremely careful at all stages of the creation of nuclear power stations—from the drawing board to the operational stage—is an entirely different matter. We have no right to allow the mistakes of Chernobyl to recur.

Central Committee Meeting on Chernobyl Held

PM281219 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jan 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Meeting at CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] A meeting with leaders of the mass media has been held at the CPSU Central Committee at which those present were familiarized with the results of work and the plans for further work to eliminate the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl AES and with the implementation of measures to improve safety at existing and planned AES's in connection with the examination of these questions at the 14 January CPSU Central Committee Politburo session.

The meeting was addressed by V.I. Dolgikh, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Reports were delivered by B.Ye. Shcherbina, chairman of the government commission and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; N.F. Lukonin, USSR minister of nuclear power generation; L.A. Ilin, director of the USSR Health Ministry Biophysics Institute and academician of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences; and Academician N.N. Ponomarev-Stepnoy, deputy director of the I.V. Kurchatov Atomic Energy Institute.

It was pointed out that labor collectives, servicemen, scientists, specialists, the government commission, ministries, departments, and party, soviet, and economic organs locally carried out large-scale scientifically and technically complex work to eliminate the consequences of the accident under the constant leadership of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo.

The destroyed reactor unit was essentially mothballed in the space of 6 months. In a complex radiation situation approximately 400,000 cubic meters of concrete was used to cover it, and 7,000 tonnes of special metal structures were erected. The territory, buildings, structures, and equipment of the AES and the terrain adjacent to it have been decontaminated. Almost 365,000 square meters of the decontaminated industrial area have been concreted, and approximately half a million cubic meters of contaminated earth has been removed and reliably buried. The measures taken have made it possible to reduce the radiation levels at the power station to the set normatives. The three remaining reactor units at the AES have been commissioned.

A large package of water conservation measures has been implemented. Some 1,500 square kilometers of the worst polluted territories have been banked up and protected.

Approximately 800,000 cubic meters of earth and special materials have been used to form dikes, dams, and coffers. This has made it possible to make water supply sources completely safe from radioactive pollution.

A considerable amount of work has been carried out to decontaminate population centers. Special agrotechnical measures have been implemented over a considerable area of agricultural land. All this has led to a substantial improvement in the radiation situation in regions that were subjected to radioactive contamination.

Major measures have been implemented to safeguard the health of the population living in these regions. According to USSR Health Ministry data, there are no deviations in the state of health of people under medical observation.

Great concern has been shown for the population evacuated from the danger zone. All have been found jobs and provided with well-appointed housing in their new places of residence. The first stage of the Chernobyl AES power workers' new city—Slavutich—has been built in less than a year with the participation of construction organizations from the RSFSR, the Ukraine, and the Baltic and Transcaucasian republics. The first apartment blocks with a total area of 120,000 square meters have been commissioned there with the necessary facilities essential for life.

Additional measures have been taken at all AES's to enhance their safety. Control and protection systems have been honed, and other technical characteristics of reactor installations have been improved. Operating personnel have been retrained, and production and technological discipline has been strengthened.

The measures that have been taken to eliminate the consequences of the accident and their profound scientific substantiation and efficient organization have been rated highly by the IAEA, the WHO, and leading scientists and specialists in foreign countries.

The meeting participants were also briefed on the plans for the final elimination of the consequences of the accident, as well as on the program for creating a new generation of nuclear stations.

It was emphasized that nuclear power generation both in our country and all over the world is one of the chief sources for satisfying the ever increasing energy needs.

Those present received answers to all questions of interest to them.

Participating in the meeting were I.P. Yastrebov, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Heavy Industry and Power Engineering Department; P.Ya. Slezko, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department; and senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers apparatus.

Belorussian Central Committee Plenum Reported

PM280953 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jan 87 Second Edition p 2

[Report by correspondents A. Simurov and A. Ulitenok under the rubric "Party Life; Reports of Elected Organs": "They Could Have Achieved More"]

[Text] Minsk—An atmosphere of high exactingness prevailed at the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee plenum which discussed a report on the bureau's work in leading restructuring. There were no rosy tones either in the report delivered by Central Committee First Secretary Ye. Sokolov nor in the speeches delivered by the speakers.

Yes, the republic's economy and social sphere are indeed developing dynamically. The contents of the food and industrial goods stores have become more varied. Some 278,500 tonnes—that is the quantity of above-plan livestock and poultry which the republic has sold the state in 2 years. But the prime cost of the weight gains? It is higher than planned. Or take the following fact: Since the start of the 5-year plan nearly 200,000 families have moved to new accommodation. But this fact loses its luster in the eyes of individual builders, for their share in the new accommodation is less than 10%. The cooperative housing construction plans are not being fulfilled and there are 126,000 families on the cooperative housing construction waiting lists.

In its report the Central Committee Bureau admitted that as an organ of political leadership it has not always succeeded in revealing promptly all kinds of distortions in the development of the economy and the social sphere. In particular this applies to the disproportions in the development of cities and villages, the buildup of the production of construction materials, the laying of roads, and so forth. But Central Committee Secretaries and Bureau Members V. Lepeshkin, Yu. Kolokolov, and N. Dementey are still failing to see any big problems here.

There are no grounds for the overconfident sentiments which have, alas, appeared among some leaders. On the contrary, behind the general background of successes there are many people hiding in the shadows whose standard of work fails to meet modern requirements. As the plenum participants pointed out, cadres policy should be the main thing in the Central Committee's activity. But has it been?

To judge by the report and speeches, there have been many blunders in the main sphere of party work. For instance, take the training of cadres in the mass professions for the countryside. Rural workers still have a poor record in mastering scientific knowledge and borrowing the experience of leading workers. Yet these shortcomings were revealed long ago and the relevant decision was taken. But good intentions have remained hanging in the air. The plenum instructed Central Committee Secretaries N. Igurnov and V. Pechennikov and N. Mazay,

deputy chairman of the Belorussian Council of Ministers, to accelerate the creation of an effective system of cadres training and retraining.

One reason for cadres omissions lies in relapses into the old style. There are still people who love to command, to supplement everyone and everything, instead of developing people's activeness and coordinating their activity through the party organizations.

The plenum examined particularly closely the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau's activity as an organ of collective leadership. How firm is its reliance on the obkoms, gorkoms, raykoms, and primary party organizations? In their speeches V. Grigoryev, first secretary of the Vitebsk party obkom, A. Malofeyev, first secretary of the Minsk party obkom, and V. Kozyak, first secretary of the Shuchinskiy party raykom, noted with concern that this reliance must be strengthened and strengthened again.

"It is time to bring the obkom's structure into line with the tasks of the day," A. Kamay, first secretary of the Gomel Belorussian Communist Party Obkom, suggested. "We ask that we be given the right to decide for ourselves how to use the party apparatus with the greatest degree of efficiency. This is even more noticeable locally."

In the period under review there was a lack of consistency and persistence in implementing what had been planned. The following example was cited. The task had been set of radically improving the use of equipment by increasing the shift system in its operation. From the formal viewpoint everything was in order: Experience was studied, measures were drawn up, and conferences were held. But what is the result? As the saying goes: The millstones turned, there was a rattle, but no flour. The machine shift coefficient remained at last year's level and in some places even dropped.

There are many shortcomings in the work of the Central Committee departments. The main one, the plenum noted, is adherence to narrow departmental interests. Getting bogged down in current economic matters and usurping other people, the party worker loses his perspective and is unable to predict and regulate the processes taking place.

Some Central Committee departments lack depth in penetrating the content, forms, and methods of the activity of the party committees and organizations of departments under their control. For instance, why did the Belorussian Academy of Sciences once escape the sight of the Central Committee? Because the employees of the department of science and educational establishments, to the detriment of their main work, paid a great deal of attention to the preparation of their dissertations and worked simultaneously in VUZ's and scientific laboratories. Where could they find time to analyze situations in a particular party organization!

Or take the economic department, headed by G. Vecherko. His workers stay late at their offices. There is indeed a lot of work, but it mainly goes on paper—disappearing like water in the sand. In 2 years the department has not made a single proposal to the Bureau on accelerating the republic's socioeconomic and cultural development.

The plenum also analyzed the positive experience of the work of party committees and organizations in leading restructuring. Thus, the Orshanskiy party raykom and its first secretary, S. Bashkevich, are consistently asserting efficiency and supporting enterprising, questing people.

The party organization and collective of Vitebsk's "Dolomit" association have achieved marked changes. Here they really display concern for man. The enterprise has constructed about 900 apartments and every other family has moved into new accommodation. The waiting list for children's preschool institutions has been eliminated and a culture center and school and consumer services center have been constructed.... And here is the result: Compared with 1981 cadres turnover has dropped from 12% to 4.4% and is the lowest in the sector. The collective is coping successfully with production targets. The Central Committee Secretariat has approved the experience of the work of this party organization.

The plenum noted that there has been insufficient exactingness with regard to the activity of the Belorussian Council of Ministers. The republic's government and its chairman, M. Kovalev, have frequently been diverted into examining trivial current issues, overlooking major national economic problems.

For instance, take automated control systems, without which the economic mechanism cannot function efficiently nowadays. It turns out that there are over 1,000 of these systems and a little over 300 computer centers in the republic. At the same time there is not a single sectorial or regional automated system for the control of manufacturing processes. In the agrarian complex the situation is even worse. The Central Committee Bureau members, Belorussian Gosplan Chairman V. Kebich, and Yu. Khusainov, chairman of the republic's Gosagroprom, were criticized for these omissions.

The activity of the Belorussian Supreme Soviet Presidium and its chairman, Central Committee Bureau member T. Tarazevich, was also assessed critically. The rebuke against him was as follows: The Presidium Communists have not shifted their attention from procedural issues to the enhancement of the efficiency of the activity of local organs of power. The plenum demanded that the party organizations of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers take a firmer and more consistent stance with regard to everything delaying restructuring.

Omissions in ideological and mass cultural work are being eliminated only slowly. The Central Committee Bureau is making insufficient use of collective experience in preparing decisions on major problems of socioeconomic development and the improvement of party work. Central Committee members and candidate members are enlisted only feebly to the organization and monitoring of the execution of the resolutions adopted. This was stated by party group organizer R. Masalkova, repair worker at the Mogilev "Khimvolokno" association, L. Yermachenkova, worker at the Lukoml GRES, and others.

The degree of activeness of the plenum participants was high. There were 23 speakers in the debates. Six people took advantage of the free microphones installed in the auditorium.

Let us note that this procedure for improvised speeches was not without scenes which provoked laughter in the auditorium. That was what happened when, for instance, the chairman asked who still wanted to use the microphone and a Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee member rose from his seat in the first rank and slowly made his way to the back of the auditorium, where the miracle of radio technology was hanging. "Put him on the rostrum, it's closer!" voices were heard to say. To which the speaker responded artlessly: "I can't, I had it planned for the microphone."

The only surprising thing is that not one of the six Central Committee Bureau members working in the government center asked to speak and of the seven members of the Central Committee Apparatus Bureau only one took part in the debates. Yet the plenum participants expected from the members of the Communist Party's top elected organ the answers to many questions put in a keen, principled, and fair manner in the report and during its discussion.

The plenum helped the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee and its Bureau to see better the real picture of restructuring with all its difficulties and complexities. That is why the plenum resolution stated: The Belorussian Communists have done far less than they could and should have done.

Estonian Central Committee Plenum Reported

PM281301 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 17 Jan 88 p 1

[ETA "Information Report on Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] The seventh Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum was held in Tallinn 16 January to discuss the Central Committee Bureau report on the leadership of restructuring in the republican party organization. K. Vayno, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, delivered a report on this question.

Those who spoke in the debates on the Central Committee Bureau report were Ya. Martin, first secretary of the Paydeskiy party raykom; V. Yefimova, secretary of the "Krengolmskaya Manufaktura" cotton combine party committee; Yu. Kraft, Estonian SSR minister of light industry; A. Ryuytel, chairman of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; N. Levitskiy, cutter and team leader at the "Kiviyli" shale chemical plant; E. Peek, first secretary of the Vilyandiskiy party raykom; N. Ganyushov, secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee; A. Lukkas, first secretary of the Raplaskiy party raykom; Yu. Kakhk, academician-secretary of the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences social sciences department; M. Pedak, chairman of the Estonian republican trade unions council; Kh. Parik, director of the "Tartu" experimental base kolkhoz; E.-A. Sillari, first secretary of the Tallinn party gorkom; V. Miroshnichenko, general director of the Tallinn M.I. Kalinin electrical equipment plant production association; P. Kenkmann, secretary of the Tartu State University party committee; B. Saul, chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers; E. Pyldroos, chairman of the board of the Estonian SSR Artists Union; L. Tuuzov, chairman of the Khaapsaluskiy Rayispolkom; A. Meri, chairman of the Estonian Friendship Society; V. Boytsova, stock-raising unit team leader at the "Kokhtla-Yarve" Sovkhoz; T. Laak, first secretary of the Tartu party gorkom; and A. Zamakhin, chairman of the Estonian SSR State Statistics Committee.

K. Vayno delivered the concluding speech and also answered the questions raised by the plenum participants.

The plenum discussed organizational questions. I. Toome, who used to work as first deputy chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers, was elected a Central Committee secretary and Central Committee Bureau member of the Estonian Communist Party. The plenum relieved R. Ristlaan of his post as Central Committee secretary and his duties as Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau member in connection with his reassignment to other work.

CPSU Central Committee responsible workers V. Galkin and A. Yarchak took part in the work of the plenum.

The report on the work of the plenum will be published in the press.

Estonian Minister Praises Militia's Work

LD290952 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0615 GMT 29 Jan 88

[Text] Tallinn, 29 Jan (TASS)—A couple of days ago the inhabitants of the Soviet Baltic Republic of Estonia were able to ask questions by telephone to Marko Tibar, Estonia's minister of internal affairs. He conducted a teledialogue with viewers directly on the air for 1 and 1/2 hours. In a conversation with a TASS correspondent the

minister described the statistics on crime which are now openly publicized, the glasnost in all spheres of life, and the regular contacts with the public as the real fruits of the restructuring of the militia's work.

Having noted the rejuvenation of the militia, the minister stressed that there are more young people of indigenous nationality—Estonians—in its ranks now. Individual preventive work against crime at enterprises and the struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism, are showing results. For example, in the last 3 years the consumption of alcohol in the republic has gone down by almost half and the numbers of crimes committed as a result of drunkenness has gone down by a quarter.

Gromyko Presents Order of Lenin to Demichev

PM291103 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jan 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Award Presentation"]

[Text] A.A. Gromyko presented the Order of Lenin to P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, in the Kremlin 25 January. He was receiving the award for his great services to the Communist Party and the Soviet state and in connection with his 70th birthday.

NOVYY MIR's Zalygin Awarded Order of Lenin

PM290849 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jan 88 Second Edition p 1

[USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree dated 27 January "On the Award of the Title of Hero of Socialist Labor to Comrade S.P. Zalygin"]

[Text] Comrade Sergey Pavlovich Zalygin, the writer and chief editor of the journal NOVYY MIR, has been awarded the title of Hero of Socialist Labor and presented with the Order of Lenin and the "Serp i Molot" gold medal for his great services to the development of Soviet literature and for his fruitful social activity.

A. Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

T. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

Convicted Spy Bumeisters Pardoned in Latvia

LD281753 Moscow TASS in English 1729 GMT 28 Jan 88

[Text] Riga January 28 (TASS)—The Presidium of Latvia's Supreme Soviet (parliament) today took a decision to pardon Juris Bumeisters convicted by the penal division of the Baltic Republic's Supreme Court in 1981 for 15 year in prison.

In 1978, Bumeisters, who held the degree of candidate of technical sciences and headed a sector at the Baltic Research Institutes for Fisheries, entered into contact with American intelligence.

Using his position, he collected information about military airfields, hardware and other defence facilities in Latvia and other republics of the Soviet Union. He also gathered economic and political information and handed it over to CIA agents.

In considering the application for pardon, the parliament of Soviet Latvia took into account Bumeisters' sincere and profound repentance and his advanced age.

Manager Embezzles From Plant's Chernobyl Fund

PM261327 [Editorial Report] Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian on 15 January 1988 in its First Edition carries on page 6 a 1,500-word Bryansk-datelined report by own correspondent I. Pyrkh entitled "Pilfering While Observing the 'Rules of Propriety'" and carried under the rubric "People in the Mirror of Conflict."

The article begins:

"Rumor knows no obstacle, as the popular saying goes. Something like this is now happening in Bryansk. It is rumored that the 'Gorvodokanal' administration collected several thousand rubles for its Chernobyl fund, but that its chief 'filched' it, that the administration acquired a 'secret love nest,' and that the local leadership did not escape 'dacha-mania'...

"Rumor is one thing, but a document is more accurate.

"'The Bryansk City Prosecutor's Office has investigated the criminal case of embezzlement and abuses committed by officials of the "Gorvodokanal" administration.

"'In July 1984 V.I. Chuprin, the administration chief, came to an agreement with citizen V.V. Volovich whereby the latter placed her cooperative apartment at his disposal while her son, in return for this service, received half of the salary of a pumping-station operator without working, the money being transferred to a savings account. In this way R930 were embezzled. A crime under Article 92, Section 2, of the RSFSR Criminal Code (embezzlement of state money by abuse of official position) was thus committed by Chuprin...

"'Moreover, Chuprin, carrying out his duties in an improper manner, signed financial documents as a result of which state money was systematically embezzled in the Volodarskiy section in the guise of providing material assistance, R390 being stolen...

"'V.B. Kravchenko, former chairman of a trade union committee, embezzled R950 collected by "Gorvodokanal" workers for the aid fund for victims of the Chernobyl AES accident.

"'The criminal case against V.N. Chuprin has been dismissed on the basis of the 18 June 1987 USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree on "The Amnesty on the 70th Anniversary of the Great October Revolution." Since Chuprin committed a crime and leads an immoral life this information is sent so measures of party action can be taken against him.

"'N.N. Privalov, City Prosecutor.'"

Pyrkh then cites further detail from the case file. He complains that when the case was eventually discussed at an open party meeting of the "Gorvodokanal" association the "claque" praised Chuprin and deemed the "strict reprimand with endorsement of party card" issued by the party gorkom a month earlier too severe a penalty. Chuprin's own speech at the meeting is described as a "patent lie." The author concludes by noting that "nevertheless, the healthy forces in the administration did finally shake off their apathy while this article was being prepared for publication" and that there will be a "reelection of the party bureau in January since its present membership and secretary, L. Soldatenkov, showed lack of principle in examining the actions or, more accurately, crimes of V. Chuprin."

Attitudes Toward Afghanistan Veterans Viewed

PM281145 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 22 Jan 88 First Edition p 1

[Vladimir Yudanov article under the "Our Dialogue" rubric in response to readers' letters: "On Their Return From Combat, They Remained in the Ranks"; first four paragraphs are readers' letters]

[Text] "Former classmates from our street came back from the army, but Vera Timofeyevna, my neighbor, would not see her lad: He died in Afghanistan. And what a lad he was! What tears we wept with his mother.... Our hearts also ache for those who returned, whom we all want to help, but how can I, an old woman, help? I know that they have concessions both with regard to obtaining an apartment and getting a job or entering an institute. But I also know that not all of them get their due. Why is this? Servicemen and soldiers, above all, have always been enveloped in concern and respect in Russia.

"N. Sviridova. Kursk."

"I, an officer who served in the army for 35 years, was astonished by a scene which I observed on Airborne Troops Day. A group of guys were walking down Nevskiy Prospekt wearing blue berets and in full assault uniform behaving provocatively, and some were drunk. One of these groups was being followed by a militia car. I asked a militia worker what was the matter. He replied that they were soldiers who had served in the limited contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan 'having fun' and that the militia was 'monitoring' them. I was astonished both by the soldiers' behavior and by the militia's indulgence.

"Colonel Justice (Retired) A. Galkin. Leningrad."

These are the sort of dissimilar, conflicting thoughts and opinions which a complex and hitherto fairly unusual topic evokes in readers: the fate and life of young lads returning to the homeland after performing their international duty in the Republic of Afghanistan. Pride, joy, pain, alarm, respect, and concern...

When I read Col Galkin's letter I immediately recalled a conversation with another reserve officer—Airborne Troops Major V. Gavrilov. Retiring after contusions received in Afghanistan, Vladimir Georgiyevich returned to his native Tomsk and became deputy chairman of the oblast DOSAAF committee. During his first year of service in his new job he encountered disturbances during the annual army holiday. Everything in Tomsk was just as Leningrader A. Galkin described: militia vehicles, guys dressed in civilian clothing wearing items of military uniform, and, unfortunately, drunks marching in the disorderly file.... But everything did not end here as it did on Nevskiy Prospekt. There were many "Afghans" among the "strolling" reservists on the streets of Tomsk. Major Gavrilov gambled on them. He managed to muster them and explained the "combat task": to hold the army holiday so that they could feel not shame but pride afterwards when facing the city. The younf men immediately pulled themselves together and moved in an orderly formation to the city park, where they organized a concert of battle songs and showed their skill in using weapons at the shooting range previously set up by the DOSAAF Obkom. Army holidays subsequently took place without excesses: The internationalist soldiers took on the job of preparing and organizing them. The military-patriotic club movement, which is gathering pace in Tomsk, is also greatly supported by the "Afghans."

Our attitude to the 20-year-old veterans has not taken shape and firmed up. This is no coincidence: It is not so many years since we stubbornly pretended that they did not exist and that, if they did, they were no different from other guys who had not tasted sorrow in real combat. Even now do we really have a realistic idea of their needs and interests?

"The motherland is grateful to the heroes": Have these oft-used words not become erased and weakened in our consciousness? Are we not forgetting that the homeland's gratitude is above all our gratitude, yours and mine, warmth and respect for those who have earned it by feats of arms?

Benefits have been laid down for internationalist soldiers. But the government resolutions are often not fulfilled at local level, the eternal refrain being "objective circumstances." I was recently in Astrakhan. Here there are 99 "Afghans" on the privileged housing list. Progress is "snail-like." Pskov: 50 soldier internationalists are huddled in private apartments and hostels. The gorispolkom is promising to meet their requests by... 1993.

Nowadays we talk a great deal about social justice. But sometimes we understand it merely as rescinding the undeserved privileges of the "elect." But there is also another side to the coin: Social justice also lies in safeguarding the benefits and material privileges of those who have earned them—whether by shock work or by feats of arms. We must mark deserving people not only with material respect but also with public respect, attention, and trust. Such people include internationalist soldiers.

These guys have proved their worth. Let us think it over: All the well known textbook exploits of the Great Patriotic War are being repeated by soldiers born in the sixties, on the territory of Afghanistan. The title of Hero of the Soviet Union has been awarded to 67 internationalist soldiers. Here is just one figure from army statistics, which are very parsimonious with details: In 1986 alone the soldiers of the limited contingent of Soviet troops in the Republic of Afghanistan performed more than 3,000 heroic actions.

And this is in peacetime, when the heroes' contemporaries are calmly working, studying, dating girls, and visiting discos. Military exploits are being performed by people whose fathers grew up without experiencing war...

For thousands of guys Afghanistan has been a school of courage, a crucible of moral tempering.

As callow youths they saw their comrades bleeding and dying, felt the intensity of revolutionary battle, and felt themselves to be true internationalists, and they returned to the motherland with stronger characters and self-knowledge. Whenever I have spoken with an "Afghan," I have always noted with joy his inner restlessness, readiness for action, and stern intolerance of inertia, bureaucracy, and political apathy. I know many lads who do not regard themselves as having left the army and feel ready both for real combat and for real work. They include Sergey Skumatenko, bearer of the Order of the Red Star, group III invalid, and Moscow subway builder, who challenged the overreporting and window dressing by the chiefs of his Construction and Installation Administration and won a victory. They include Anatoliy Kachalin, 27th CPSU Congress delegate, who while still a student at the Moscow Aviation Institute won the right to work under R.A. Belyakov, the general designer and twice Hero of Socialist Labor. They also include Reserve Sergeant Volodya Klimov, the 26-year-old deputy chairman of the Kirov DOSAAF Obkom.

The council of young reservists created largely thanks to Klimov's energy has become a weighty force in the oblast. It can "boast" 20 military-patriotic youth clubs, army holidays which attract tens of thousands of spectators, and memorial marches round the burial places of internationalist soldiers. The young reservists' council also helps resolve the 20-year-old veterans' acute everyday problems. V. Klimov, when he was invited a year ago to the party Obkom Bureau, talked about the truly disastrous situation of many internationalist soldiers who have now despaired of obtaining decent housing. The reserve sergeant did not forget to list the families of dead soldiers in the same situation. V. Bakatin, then first secretary of the CPSU Obkom (now first secretary of the Kemerovo party obkom) told Klimov, as chairman of the reservists' council, to draw up a list of the neediest people. The list named 120 people, and the oblispolkom adopted a special resolution to provide them with housing within 2 years. Things started moving...

I remember how, on the day the All-Union Rally of Young Reservists in Ashkhabad last fall ended, stately, smart guys with orders and medals on their chests mounted the rostrum one after another. They mounted it in order to say once again that they are alarmed and eaten up with concern for the fate of their comrades in arms who have been insulted on their return to the homeland by heartlessness and formalism and to talk about their concern for the "directive" obstacles standing in the way of the military-patriotic movement. Pointed, critical speeches come as no surprise to anyone now, but the "Afghans'" fierce rejection of bureaucratism and administration by decree and their readiness to combat negative phenomena have forced people to pay more heed to their words and to trust them.

I do not want to be misunderstood: I have no wish to idealize the "Afghans." All kinds of things happen. Experiences take their toll on psychological makeup and affect character and emotional condition. The "Afghans" are often headstrong, oversensitive, and quick to take offense. But it is not their fault, but ours; we who live in peaceful conditions could be more charitable toward them, more solicitous, and a little more attentive.

The formation of reservists' councils and internationalist soldiers' councils has finally begun now. Yes, their status is unclear, as is the basis for their existence and actions. Often the guys retire into their own community and limit their aims to the struggle to gain the privileges owing to them. I will not dispute that it is an important matter and that monitoring and even "pressure" on their part are possible and legitimate. But internationalist soldiers are no less necessary now in youth clubs, DOSAAF committees, Komsomol organizations, and school military training classes. I think that soviets of people's deputies at all levels could involve the "Afghans" more actively in their activity. The "Afghans" themselves are not very confidently striving for such work, but the main thing is that no one is doing anything in particular to recruit them, which is why there is just a

handful of "Afghan" Komsomol workers and deputies. At the same time we complain of cadre shortages and the lack of leaders. And whom should young people try to emulate if not their contemporaries—internationalist soldiers?

Channeling some of their social energy into the great cause and treating them with complete trust—they have earned it!—means recruiting thousands of real fighters to the army of restructuring. They will not let us down: On returning from combat, they want to remain in the ranks.

Play Featuring Trotskiy, Bukharin Reviewed

PM291015 [Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 28 January 1988 in its Second Edition carries on page 6 under the headline "Asking the Past About the Present... 'Brest Peace' at the Yevg. Vakhtangov Theater" a 1,700-word V. Maksimova review of the Shatrov play "Brest Peace" currently running at the Vakhtangov Theater. In the middle of her review of the actors' performances, Maksimova states: "The inclusion of Trotskiy, who in the first years of our revolution was people's commissar for foreign affairs and head of the Soviet delegation at the Brest talks, as a major character in the play, along with that of another complex, contradictory figure from the Russian Revolution requiring serious analysis and reassessment—Bukharin—represents the first attempt in the history of our theater to break with the inertia that has existed for decades in the anonymous, nameless depiction of that part of Lenin's immediate entourage comprised of ideological opponents and convinced enemies.

"Where possible, and wherever the inadequacy of the literary material or the writer's knowledge of the people and events of the initial stage of our revolution did not present insuperable obstacles, the Vakhtangov actors presented complex and multifaceted characters."

Abiding Significance of Lenin Legacy Viewed

PM271111 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jan 88 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Lenin Is With Us"; uppercase as published]

[Text] Today all communists and progressive mankind are paying their respects to the memory of Vladimir Ilich Lenin—the brilliant thinker and revolutionary of the 20th century. On this day in 1924 the great sorrow of the Russian working people and the world proletariat illumined the great life of the nation's leader. Leninism is the direct continuation of the teaching of Marx and Engels and its creative development in the new historical conditions.

Lenin's ideal of socialism and the "iron" consistency of his thoughts on the destiny of the Soviet state link the twenties with the present day. The revolutionary restructuring of society which began in April 1985 is the most major, radical program to renew socialism in our entire history since Lenin. The crux of this program is more socialism and more democracy.

The party has evolved a concept of restructuring and taken the most important, major decisions. We have explained what needs to be done and how, and in this way we have basically concluded the first stage. Now the restructuring concept has to come into the broadest contact with the life and everyday activity of millions of Soviet people. The ideas that have been grasped in the political leadership and the leading section of our people must now be grasped by all our people at all levels. Without this, without a clear understanding of party policy, people will not believe that it is essential. It is this belief that determines people's spirit and their real actions.

The economy has always been our main concern. In the present economic situation, in which elements of the old and new mechanisms of management are still oddly intertwined, we must concentrate our main attention on constructive work to improve planning and make the transition to full economic accountability. It is here, as V.I. Lenin taught us, that "more ordinary, EVERYDAY action" is needed. Of course, there are and will be difficulties in the implementation of the new economic and social policy, and even errors and miscalculations are possible. But only by overcoming mistrust and skepticism, not faltering under the influence of faint-heartedness, and resisting "revolutionary flimflam" will we be able to give our economy the most contemporary forms of social organization and most fully reveal its humanitarian nature and aims.

The fate of our economic plans will be determined by people, not least the production organizers. V.I. Lenin demanded that Soviet economic workers be efficient and able to see a job through to the end, and that they should make every effort to do their job better. He urged decisive action to release leading personnel who have neither the knowledge, the experience, nor the ability for this. This is particularly important, because socialism and the social ownership principles on which it is based essentially contain unlimited possibilities for progressive economic transformations designed to ensure that working people united by comradeship become masters of production in practice and not just in theory. The permanent relevance of Lenin's idea of finding the most effective combination of social ownership and personal interest is obvious. It forms the basis of the Law on State Enterprise and the whole concept of radically reforming economic management.

But an insidious enemy—bureaucracy—is lying in wait for us on this path. It has many faces but its heart is always the same—formalism. Bureaucrats can stifle any living cause, emasculate its substance, and, to use Lenin's words, drag it into the mire of bureaucratic nonsense. Letters to PRAVDA show that there is a real

danger of sacrificing the heart of the matter to form and disregarding state and society interests for the sake of departmental and local interests.

The other side of the bureaucratic coin is dilettantism and fruitless, academic scholasticism. Science always attracts hangers-on, and the maximum caution should be shown toward recommendations from those who are now writing the opposite of what they used to with new aplomb. That is why strict social monitoring is needed to prevent substitutes being passed off as the real values of restructuring. The struggle for restructuring also involves this.

The greatness of Leninism lies in its teaching on democracy. Lenin pointed out that under socialism—for the first time in the history of civilized society—the mass of the population would rise to independent participation in everyday management. Now the development of democracy, glasnost, criticism, and self-criticism is the main guarantee that restructuring is irreversible. But they are not only its means, they are also its essence, the essence of socialism. This is the main difference between our democracy and bourgeois democracy.

The illusory lustre of openness in bourgeois society conceals a secret compact between the law and unlawful constraint. Executive power is placed above social justice by virtue of its might. As Lenin said, the people are left with only one alternative—when the elections come round they must decide who will dupe them for the next term. Consequently, when "Sovietologists" (and "Sovietology" has become a powerful, lucrative industry in the West) create some imaginary democratic Russia to which they would like to see us return—despite the march of time—it is a futile exercise. The "values" of decayed bourgeois liberalism, such as spinelessness and falsity, have no place in our life. We are still committed to Lenin's idea of popular socialist self-management. We are really doing our utmost to reveal everything inherent in our system, in socialist democracy.

This is only possible if the vanguard role is played by the Communist Party. Its actions influence public opinion and the attitude to restructuring to a decisive extent. It is now essential as never before that we decisively rid ourselves of everything Lenin termed "communist dignitary conceit," "real Soviet negligence," phrase-mongering, and cynical indolence

The moral atmosphere in the party determines the moral atmosphere in the whole of our society. The democratization process is gathering momentum. The party committee report campaign is now in progress and is being conducted in a strict Leninist manner, without any euphoria which would debase restructuring. The party is preparing thoroughly for its 19th all-union conference and laying in a store of constructive ideas; as always, we will refer back to Vladimir Ilich's legacy, as not one action, not one word, not one thought of Lenin will ever fade away!

New Book on Lenin, Cheka Reviewed

PM211633 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Jan 88 Second Edition p 4

[Article by B. Yakovlev, senior scientific staffer at the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, under the rubric "About Books": "Guarding the Interests of the Revolution"]

[Text] The entire course of the struggle to build a new society has shown that the revolution can consolidate its victory only if it is capable of defending itself against the subversive activities of the counterrevolution. On V.I. Lenin's initiative, the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission was established for this purpose in December 1917. It was composed of the best representatives of Russia's working class. V.I. Lenin's versatile work in the creation and political leadership of the special organs to combat counterrevolution, sabotage, and terrorism is depicted in the second, enlarged, edition of the anthology "V.I. Lenin and the Vecheka" (Footnote) (V.I. Lenin i Vecheka. A collection of documents, 1917-1922. Moscow, Political Literature Publishing House, 1987, 642 pp).

The book contains V.I. Lenin's letters and notes, telegrams and orders, resolutions, jottings, inscriptions, marginal notes, additions and insertions to various documents and other materials which convincingly illustrate Vladimir Ilich's tireless work in the practical leadership of the Vecheka and the elaboration of the main principles of the state security organs' work. The present publication, into which the editorial board under the leadership of V. Pirozhkov and the compilers of the anthology have put a great deal of work, is considerably bigger than the 1975 edition. It contains some 150 new materials, including 51 documents which are published for the first time for scientific purposes. The documents are accompanied by scientific comment explaining the content of the documents and describing the conditions and reasons for their publication.

The book acquaints readers with the heroic activity of the Chekists who during the years of the civil war neutralized hundreds of counterrevolutionary organizations made up of monarchists, constitutional democrats, socialist revolutionaries, and anarchists, and also espionage and sabotage groups, and, together with units of the Red Army, put down kulak revolts and crushed terrorist detachments and gangs. The documents published in the anthology also illustrate on the basis of facts and figures the resolute struggle of the Vecheka organs against bribery, speculation, the pilfering of state property, against bureacracy, mismanagement, and bad workmanship, and their role in the organization of transport, the solution of food supply questions, and the elimination of child vagrancy.

From the first days of the existence of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission V.I. Lenin took a keen interest in it; he coordinated its work and protected it from

the attacks of hostile elements. The Vecheka's tasks were defined, its organizational structure elaborated, and relations between the extraordinary commissions and party and soviet organs were established with Lenin's direct participation. V.I. Lenin drafted a number of fundamental Soviet Government decrees and resolutions relating to the organization and leadership of the Vecheka. Questions concerning Chekist organs' work were discussed at plenums and sessions of the Central Committee Politburo and Orgburo and sessions of the Council of People's Commissars and the Defense Council (Labor and Defense Council). Frequently Vladimir Ilich himself submitted them for discussion.

With a view to strengthening revolutionary and socialist legality V.I. Lenin demanded that party control of the activity of the Extraordinary Commission be stepped up, the quality of Vecheka staffing be improved, and its apparatus made to function more efficiently and promptly.

Vladimir Ilich demanded that the sharp weapons of the Vecheka organs be directed against the real enemies of the revolution rather than individuals who had been drawn into hostile activities through inexperience, political immaturity, or deception. He reacted critically to individual Chekists' erroneous views and rash actions. As chairman of the Council of People's Commissars he frequently received letters or cables with requests for help, to sort out specific cases, to free an innocent father, husband, son, or colleague who had been arrested, to make it possible to visit detainees, and so forth. Despite the fact that he was very busy with the leadership of the party and the administration of the state, he found time to attend to all these requests in detail and to clarify why people had been arrested and whether the accusations leveled at them were justified, demanding a careful verification of the investigation materials in specific cases, and he sought to have cases accelerated or reviewed. The book contains many examples of this kind.

In conditions of peaceful economic building, when there no longer was a need for emergency measures and powers, the Vecheka organs changed their methods of combating enemies in the sphere of economic life and economic building. At the same time, V.I. Lenin pointed out in his report to the Ninth All-Russian Congress of Soviets 23 December 1921 the need for the long-term existence in the system of the proletarian state of an institution which would protect its security. The basic principles of the work of Soviet state security organs formulated with Lenin's direct participation, and the glorious Chekist traditions, having stood the test of time, have lost none of their importance today. The violations of these principles during the years of the personality cult and the attempts to remove the state security apparatus from under party control entailed grave consequences and unjustified repressions.

The CPSU has resolutely condemned deviations from the Leninist norms of party and state life. Reliable guarantees have been created for the observance of socialist legality in the work of state security organs. At present, together with the party and the people, the Chekists are restructuring their work in accordance with the principles of socialist democracy; they are seeking to improve the forms and methods of their work and to enhance their efficiency. With their great efforts to expose the imperialist special services' hostile intrigues and cut short their subversive activities they are reliably ensuring the security of the motherland.

Lenin 'Biographical Chronicle' Broadcast

LD231505 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1650 GMT on 20 January carries a 70-minute documentary about Lenin, covering the period of his illness from December 1922 to January 1924. The opening captions read "V.I. Lenin: Pages of His Life;" "Biographical Chronicle, Volume 12: Looking at the Twenties;" "Film Two—the Farewell." The roles of Lenin, Stalin, Trotskiy, Lenin's wife Krupskaya, and Lenin's secretary Fotiyeva are depicted by actors, sometimes quoting from the words of the characters they portray, and sometimes talking about them. An unseen narrator recounts events. Most scenes are set in Lenin's Kremlin study or outside Lenin's Gorki residence near Moscow.

The documentary opens with the narrator saying: "Here, near Moscow, at Gorki, Vladimir Ilich had the opportunity to commune with the nature that he loved, to which he was drawn in the infinitely rare free moments in his tragically short life." Over a still of Lenin sitting in a wheelchair, the narrator praises Lenin's fortitude "even on the eve of death," and continues: "Tied down at Gorki, tied by paralysis, he returned in his thoughts to the matters which had been broken off so unexpectedly. Now he could not influence them, and there remained the worries which could not pass of their own accord, which gave him no rest, before or now."

Lenin then speaks, saying: "When a person leaves this world for ever and crosses the threshold of the eternal, a great deal of what happens at the very end of his life—his last lines, words, meetings or gestures—assume, with time, special and sometimes fateful importance."

The narrator recalls Lenin's last public speech in November 1922, and then talks over a newsreel clip of Lenin at the Fourth Komintern Congress, saying that Lenin insisted on speaking at the 10th Congress of Soviets, even though doctors said he should be receiving medical treatment. An actor playing the role of Professor Aberbakh recalls the onset of Lenin's bouts of illness. Lenin then talks about Lenin's interest in Engels' "political testament" once he realised how serious his illness was.

Lenin then says: "Twelve December 1922 was a day that passed in pursuing daily activities. No one could have supposed it was the last. What was important during this day is what had lately been worrying Vladimir Ilich: The foreign trade monopoly and the so-called Georgian case. He managed to insist on the foreign trade monopoly, but failed to resolve the Georgian case."

Next to speak is the narrator, who says: "The Georgian case can be called Vladimir Ilich's last drama. At this time, Georgia was part of the Transcaucasian Federation. A group of Communists from the Georgian Central Committee was in conflict with the Transcaucasian Kraykom and above all with Ordzhonikidze. By demanding that Georgia should be fully independent they were essentially inhibiting the economic and political unification of the republics. Lenin subjected these Communists to criticism, but he was especially concerned with someone else, namely Ordzhonikidze. The latter was bureaucratic and hasty in the field of the nationalities question. One of Ordzhonikidze's opponents made him lose his temper, and Ordzhonikidze slapped his offender across his face."

Lenin continues: "If the matter could reach the point where Ordzhonikidze could go so far as to apply physical force, one can imagine how low we had fallen. I think that no provocation or even an insult can justify this Russian inclination toward violence. Ordzhonikidze had been vested with power over the rest of Caucasian citizens. He was obliged to show self-restraint, such as perhaps no other ordinary citizen has to show. The conflict with the Transcaucasian Kraykom went so far as to make a group of the Georgian Central Committee members tender their resignation. A commission headed by Dzerzhinskiy was sent there from Moscow to resolve matters.

"Dzerzhinskiy's statement was called into question by Vladimir Ilich. Dzerzhinskiy had stated that the political line of the Transcaucasian Bureau and Ordzhonikidze himself should be considered correct.

"I was overcome by the greatest fears when I heard what Comrade Dzerzhinskiy, who headed the commission of the Central Committee for the investigation of the Georgian case, reported. One now must finish this investigation and re-examine all the materials of Dzerzhinskiy's commission in order to rectify that enormous multitude of inaccuracies and biased judgments which undoubtedly pervade them.

"I am afraid Dzerzhinkiy showed here his truly Russian frame of mind. Everyone knows that russified foreigners always tend to overdo it in their attempt to demonstrate their truly Russian frame of mind. Ordzhonikidze's violent methods were a fairly clear characteristic of the impartiality of the whole of Dzerzhinskiy's commission. Dzerzhinskiy is irrevocably guilty of treating this case of violence with insufficient seriousness."

The narrator then explains how Lenin's health worsened on 15-16 December, and how Stalin was given the task of ensuring that Lenin followed his doctor's orders.

The program continues with Lenin saying: "Just 5 minutes. One issue worries me: I fear I will not sleep if they do not write it down. I want to dictate a letter to the congress. Write it down. I want to share my thoughts with you, those that I consider to be the most important."

An actress playing the role of Lenin's sister, Mariya Ulyanova, recalls his ultimatum to doctors—"Let me dictate, or I will refuse treatment." She says he was given permission to dictate for brief periods provided no one bothered him with political matters. The narrator continues: "At the end of December 1922, and in January and February 1923, Lenin dictated a number of long letters and five articles. While dictating them, Vladimir Ilich thought that they could be his last, and this makes them sound like a political testament."

Krupskaya and Fotiyeva then recall the difficulties of the dictation process. The narrator says that Lenin wanted to draft a speech for the 10th Congress of Soviets, and also to prepare something for the 125th party congress, but in each case he was unable to do so. He continues: "The first thing he dictated was a letter to the congress; he wanted to start with the party, it was the party's destiny that worried him."

Lenin says: "I would very much advise that a number of changes be introduced in our political system. The changes to the political system—the issue, if you recall, that would not let Vladimir Ilich sleep until they gave him permission to dictate. First of all, I would increase the number of members of the Central Committee to several dozen, or even to 100."

The narrator asks: "But is it right to put an equals sign between changes in the political structure and an increase in the number of members of the Central Committee?"

Lenin responds: "I think that it would be a great danger for our Central Committee were we not to undertake such a reform. It seems to me that the steadiness of our party would be the winner a thousand times over thanks to such a measure. I have in mind steadiness as a guarantee against a split in the immediate future, and here I intend to bring together a few thoughts of a purely personal nature. I think that the basic issue of stability from this point of view concerns Central Committee members Stalin and Trotskiy. I think that the relationship between them makes up more than half the danger of the split that could be avoided by increasing the membership of the Central Committee from 50 to 100." He says: "Our party is justified in asking the working class for 50 or 100 Central Committee members," and points out that they should be drawn from people close to ordinary workers and peasants.

Lenin continues: "In his letter to the congress, Vladimir Ilich said that he intended to express a number of his ideas that have a purely personal nature. What he had in mind was certain personal qualities of some Central Committee members, their character traits. This was quite important in his eyes. Comrade Trotskiy, as his fight against the Central Committee about the matter of the People's Commissariat for Railways has shown, is noted not only for his outstanding abilities. As far as his personal qualities are concerned, he is perhaps the most capable man in the existing Central Committee. His extreme confidence in himself tends to overpower one, however, and he gets carried away too easily by the purely administrative side of the matter. I will not go on characterizing personal qualities of other members. But I would like to remind you that the October episode with Zinovyev and Kamenev was not in any way a coincidence, and that perhaps we just as insufficiently blame them for it, as we blame Trotskiy for his lack of Bolshevism.

"I would like to say a few words about young members of the Central Committee, such as Bukharin and Pyatakov. Bukharin is not only one of the major and most valuable party theoreticians. He is also legitimately considered to be the whole party's favorite. It is very doubtful however that his theoretical views can be considered full Marxist because there is something scholastic about him. He has never studied and I think he never really understood dialectics. As for Pyatakov, he is a man of outstanding will and outstanding abilities, but too easily gets involved in bureaucratism and the administrative side of things for us to be able to rely on him in a serious political matter.

"As we listen to these severe evaluations, uncommonly severe for our times, we think to ourselves: These are the people that accompanied Lenin in revolution, his victories in the civil war, and were engaged in starting the New Economic Policy. The conclusion suggests itself: The greater potential a leader has and the greater his possibilities, the wider is the circle of those people whom he tries to involve and with whom he argues, trying to prove that he is right, and yet work with him.

"One shouldn't see intrigue and opposition in those who think differently or approach matters differently, but one should value independent people. Lenin's most exhausting political battles were with those who attempted to reduce the diversity of life to the ideal order of the barracks. That is my life—one battle campaign after another against political stupidity, vulgarity, opportunism, and so on. And I am detested by vulgarians because of it. But I still wouldn't trade the whole of the life that I have for a truce with vulgarians, Vladimir Ilich wrote when he was young.

"Even at the very end of his life Lenin had clashes with Stalin, a man of differing views on many issues and, in large measures, unacceptable actions. Fotiyeva recalls: "Stalin became the general secretary in April 1922. Soon after Lenin fell ill and stayed in Gorki till autumn. Only on his return, after his illness of 74 days could Lenin observe Stalin in the capacity of the general secretary. Then he fell ill again. But it was time enough to enable him to form his views and to express them quite categorically in a letter to the party congress."

Lenin notes: Comrade Stalin has gathered boundless power in his hands and I am not sure whether he can use this power with with sufficient discretion."

The narrator, speaking over shots of newspaper articles of the period says: "That power ought to have been used intelligently. The 'must,' as arrayed in military uniforms, that was necessary and unavoidable in the days of military communism, was receding into history. In its place, the civilian 'possible' was asserting itself. It called for wise and unbiased analysis of the practice of gradual socialist construction."

Lenin says: We have dragged socialism into everyday life, and people must come to terms with it. Vladimir Ilich is thinking of the fate of socialism: We must take our bearings. If we go on without doing so, we cannot avoid, to speak in contemporary language, negative phenomena. Therefore, we need restructuring.

"The need for it by the end of 1923, and its revolutionary sweep, was defined by Vladimir Ilich in his last letter and articles: I think that in the present sitaution, in which state affairs have become extraordinarily complex, a step ought to be taken in the direction of increasing the competence of the Gosplan. I have noted among certain comrades—comrades, moreover, who are capable of exerting a decisive influence upon the direction of state affairs—an exaggeration of the administrative side, which is necessary of course in its time and place, but which must not be confused with the scientific side."

The narrator notes: "In his last dictated messages, Lenin passed on to us that capital which it was right to take possession of immediately.

Lenin continues: "We still have a lot of preparatory work to do if we are to attain the level of an ordinary civilized state of Western Europe. We are doing too little—excessively little—to shift the whole of our state budget in the direction of satisfying first and foremost the needs of primary national education. We are not concerning ourselves, or we are concerning ourselves far from sufficiently, with placing the people's teacher on a level without which there can be no question of any kind of culture: neither proletarian, nor even bourgeois."

The narrator notes: "Literacy, education, are seen by Lenin as bound up with solving the most urgent practical tasks."

Lenin continues: "We still have to do a great deal from the point of view of a civilized, above all, literate, European; to make one and all participate, and participate not passively, but actively in the cooperative operations. Given the conditions of full cooperativization, we would already stand with both feet on socialist ground."

The narrator notes: "And so Lenin's cooperative plan was born; and it by no means affected the peasantry alone."

Lenin says: "I don't think we're paying enough attention to the cooperative movement. Actually, only one thing remains for us: To make our population so civilized it will understand all the advantages of universal participation in the cooperative movement, and will set up that participation. Only that. In order to accomplish that 'only,' we need a complete revolution, a whole phase of the cultural development of the entire mass of the people. Therefore our rule must be: As little philosophizing as possible, as few flourishes as possible."

The narrator says: "At last comes the improvement in the functioning of the apparatus of the state as one of the most urgent tasks."

Lenin notes: "For our state apparatus the time has at last come when we must work on it properly, with the greatest seriousness, and when haste will be almost the most harmful trait of that work."

The narrator contends: "Then, too, no doubt, not everyone was ready for restructuring.

Lenin says: "I foresee an objection stemming either directly or indirectly from those spheres which make our apparatus old: that is, from the adherents of conserving our apparatus in the impossibly and indecently prerevolutionary form in which it has remained to this day. The objection is that, supposedly, nothing but chaos will come of the reforms I have proposed."

The narrator notes: "In Lenin's opinion, the decisive role in improving government must be played by the best elements that exist in the socialist system. They must make up the inspectorate of workers and peasants."

Lenin says: "The front-ranking workers are, first and second, truly enlightened people. One can guarantee that they will take nothing on trust, will not say one word against their conscience, will not fear any difficulty or any struggle to achieve the aim that they have seriously set themselves."

The narrator, speaking over still shots of photographs and documents of the Congress of Soviets, says: "On the eve of the new year, 1923, the first All-Union Congress of the Soviets opened in Moscow. Lenin is elected honorary chairman. The first Congress of the Soviets of worker, peasant and Red Army deputies of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics sets about its work. It sends ardent greetings to the honorary chairman of the first Congress of the Soviets of the USSR and leader of the world proletariat, comrade Vladimir Ilich Lenin. The decision is made to create the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, on that day, 30 December, Lenin dictates 'On the Question of the Nationalities, or on Autonomization.' He comments in his own way on that historic event. He began the dictation with the words: I think I am greatly culpable before the workers of Russia for not having intervened energetically enough and sharply enough in the notorious question of autonomization—officially known, it seems, as the question of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

The narrator notes: "Preparations for forming the Soviet Union began in the summer of 1922. Vladimir Ilich watched over the solving of this question and the work of the special commission, headed by Stalin."

The accompanying video shows a still photograph of Stalin, cutting to actor playing Stalin, who says: "The Central Committee commission for drawing up the draft resolution on mutual relations between the RSFSR and the independent republics adopted Stalin's theses on autonomization. All the independent republics become part of the RSFSR with autonomous status, forming the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

Lenin points out: "I think this is a question of paramount importance. Stalin is rather inclined to be in a hurry. We acknowledge ourselves to be on a footing of equal rights with the Ukrainian SSR and the others, and together, and equally with them, we enter into the new Union."

The narrator says: "If it was Stalin's intention to make all the republics autonomous in relation to the RSFSR, what Lenin strove for was relations of equality, such as exist today."

The narrator, touching on Lenin's comments on the need to strengthen the new Union, introduces Fotiyeva, who asks: "Was it coincidence that Vladimir Ilich dictated his letter on the nationaliteis question during the days of the congress which confirmed the decision on the formation of the USSR? One should assume that on learning of the opening of the congress, Vladimir Ilich had a renewed sense of alarm as to whether the nationalities question was to be tackled in a correct fashion."

The narrator recalls: "Lenin considered the Georgian case to be the most characteristic example of the bureaucratic attitude to the nationalities question. He again thought that it was necessary to carry out another investigation. Being ill, Vladimir Ilich did not know that the report on Dzerzhinskiy's commission had already been considered and approved by the Politburo."

Lenin says: "Stalin and Dzerzhinskiy must of course be made politically responsible for the whole of this great Russian nationalist campaign."

Stalin, speaking over still photograph of Stalin, says: "Social nationalism must be burned out with an iron rod, and a healthy atmosphere of mutual trust must be created among the working people of the Transcaucasian nationalities."

Lenin states: "While disparagingly throwing accusations at people of being social nationalists, this Georgian is nothing but a true and genuine social natinalist himself. Not only that—he is a crude Great Russian policeman [derzhimorda], and by being what he is, this Georgian works against the interests of class proletarian solidarity."

The narrator recalls that Lenin instructed Fotiyeva to obtain the materials relating to the Georgian case from Stalin.

Addressing Fotiyeva, Stalin says: "I have no right to give out the materials without the Politburo's permission. Incidentally, Comrade Fotiyeva, do you ever say to Comrade Lenin things that you should not? How is it that he is briefed on current affairs? I propose that the Politburo release me from the duty of observing the way Comrade Lenin adheres to the regime prescribed to him by doctors."

The narrator says: "There was just one thing to do—he had to appeal to the Politburo. And that is what Lenin did."

Fotiyeva then speaks, saying: "Vladimir Ilich, the Politburo has given the go-ahead for the Georgian commission documents to be issued to us."

The narrator goes on to describe Lenin's frustration with his illness, noting that Lenin asked for clarifications of events during his absence.

Krupskaya is the next to speak, saying: "Let us leave for a moment the portrayal of historical figures. Let us take a look at things through the eyes of our own age. Let us look at things through the viewpoint of our day. Why do the statements Lenin made more than 60 years ago remain topical today? Surely we are today striving to make Gosplan the sort of organization that Lenin envisaged, an organization having at its disposal the maximum amount of data to enable matters to be assessed accurately. It is only now, during the present restructuring, that we are returning to cooperative methods, not just in the countryside, but everywhere, just as Vladimir Ilich insisted. We are again—just as he once did—talking of the science of management, and we are demanding that there should not be an all-out rush for quantity. Lenin's warnings about the nationalities question are also being confirmed—unfortunately—today. Inattention to it will cost us dear. So is it all a question of the extent of Lenin's farsightedness, or not?"

Lenin responds: "You think that we are ready to reply to all that? So far all our historians put together can't manage to do so. The fate of Lenin's last plan and its implementation have been little studied even now. Despite Trotskiy's objections, the 12th party congress adopted Lenin's advice on extending the Central Committee. But far from everything was implemented. There were of course many objective reasons for that. But of one thing there can be no doubt: Lenin handed over to subsequent generations a capital which had to be taken possession of immediately."

The narrator then outlines Lenin's plans to deliver a speech at the 10th All-Russian Congress of Soviets.

Stalin recalls: "In time Stalin was to say that there was no redoubt the Bolsheviks could not seize. But that was to come later."

The narrator notes: "Lenin understood and predicted that Stalin's passion for the administrative side of things might become fatefully important and lead to severe consequences."

Lenin states: "Stalin is too rude. Although this fault is quite endurable among us Communists, it cannot be tolerated in some one who is a general secretary. Therefore I propose that the comrades should think about ways of removing Stalin from this post. Another person should be appointed, some one who differs from Stalin in one way only: He must be more tolerant, more loyal, more attentive, and more polite with his comrades, not so whimsical, and so on."

Stalin notes: "Later Stalin will say: The conference never mentioned a single word, nor did it make a single hint that Stalin had made mistakes. Only Stalin's rudeness was mentioned. But rudeness is not and cannot be considered a political shortcoming of Stalin's."

After showing a still shot of Stalin, Lenin says: "Stalin is too rude. This may seem a trifling matter, but it is not a trifling matter, or rather, it is a trifle that may become of crucial importance."

Next to speak is Krupskaya, who says: "During Vladimir Ilich's illness, Krupskaya, with doctors' permission, wrote a letter dictated to her by Lenin. When Stalin found this out—he had been entrusted with the responsibility of ensuring that Lenin observed the regime prescribed to him by doctors—cautioned Krupskaya, threatening her with a control commission.

"Stalin has permitted himself to be very rude toward me. It is not my 2d day in the party—over my 30 years in the party I have never heard a single rude word from my comrades. The interests of the party and Ilich are just as

dear to me as they are to Stalin. I now need maximum self-restraint. I request protection from the unworthy abuse and threats rudely interfering with my personal life."

Lenin then reads a letter addressed to Stalin: "Dear Comrade Stalin, you were so rude as to express words of abuse to my wife while talking to her on the phone. Although she has agreed to forget this, I do not intend to forget so easily things which have been done against me. There is no need to mention that to insult my wife means to insult me. Therefore I request that you should consider taking back what you have said to her and apologize, or do you prefer to break off our relations altogether?"

The narrator points out: "He dictated the latter on 5 March 1923."

Lenin says: "The following morning, 6 March, Lenin instructed that the letter should be handed to Stalin. On the same day a sharp deterioration in Vladimir Ilich's health began. Lenin and Stalin never saw each other again."

Fotiyeva says: "Two days earlier I had handed Vladimir Ilich a note and concluding report on the material of the Dzerzhinskiy commission on the Georgian question. Soon after that he felt a chill. On 5 March Leniin felt unwell. Concerned about the course of his illness, and thus about the fate of the Georgain Communists who he had decided to help, Vladimir Ilyich wrote another letter that day—to Trotskiy."

Lenin reads the letter: "I implore you take the Georgian case under your wing at the Party Central Committee. This matter is at the moment under Stalin's and Dzerzhinskiy's scrutiny and I cannot rely on their impartial attitude. Even on the contrary! I can be at peace only if you can agree to defend this matter yourself. If for some reason you do not agree, could you please return to me all the material, and I will take it as your refusal."

The narrator notes that Lenin's letter to Trotskiy is also marked "5 March."

Trotskiy then states: "Could you please return these papers to Vladimir Ilich. I have too much work and feel too unwell to sort out this affair as well as everything else."

Lenin says: "Tiflis, to Comrades Makharadze and Mdivani. I am following what you are doing with great interest. I resent the rudeness of Ordzhonikidze and the panderings of Stalin and Dzerzhinskiy."

The narrator says that Lenin's letter to the Georgian Communists, dated 6 March 1923, contained the "last lines in Vladimir Ilich's activity." Fotiyeva and Krupskaya, and actors playing Lenin's doctors then describe Lenin's increasing physical decline due to his illness.

Ending the program the narrator notes: "Lenin died in Gorki on 21 January 1924."

Purged Economist Kondratyev Market Ideas Hailed

PM251123 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 14 Jan 88 p 2

[Economist Larisa Piyasheva article under the rubric "From Our Heritage": "Economist Nikolay Kondratyev"—first two paragraphs printed in boldface italics; other boldface passage as published]

[Text] **Let us take a look at the Soviet Encyclopedic Dictionary. It lists a Kondratyeva who was a textile industry innovator, a Kondratyeva who was an athlete, and a Kondratyeva who was a ballet dancer. It does not list Nikolay Dmitriyevich Kondratyev, the eminent Russian economist recognized all over the world. He has been deleted from history as if he had not written dozens of monographs and hundreds of articles and reports and as if he had never been director of the Institute of Market Studies—indeed, no one has any clear recollection of such an institute. As if "Kondratyev's theory of long waves of economic activeness" and "Kondratyev cycles" never existed.**

The newspaper's suggestion that I write an article on Nikolay Dmitriyevich Kondratyev was an honor for me, but it turned out to be a difficult task. I agonizingly studied the accusations incriminating him, and thought to myself: But where are his own works? What has happened to them? Is it not time for them to be again made available to a broad circle of readers? Is it not time to say that N.D. Kondratyev's world outlook was shaped under the direct influence of the Russian scientist M.I. Tugan-Baranovskiy, whose name is known all over the world?

A Name Restored to History [subhead]

The Economic Encyclopedia reads: Kondratyev, Nikolay Dmitriyevich (4 March 1892-17 October 1938), Russian economist. Graduated from Petersburg University Faculty of Law (1915). Took part in the elaboration of bourgeois agrarian reform by the Main Land Committee in 1917.... Director of the Institute for Market Studies under the People's Commissariat for Finance.

At the point where encyclopedias usually indicate a scientist's works, it says:

"Literature: 'Against Kondratyevism. The Class Struggle in Economic Theory (Collected Articles)', Moscow, 1931; S.G. Strumilin, 'On the Plan Front, 1920-1930,' Moscow, 1958."

"Against Kondratyevism..." This "memorial" is 56 years old. It is "autographed" by I. Vermenichev, Ye. Yaroslavskiy, V. Nodel, L. Lyuboshits, Ya. Rokakh, and many others. Their names are to be found at the foot of

articles whose titles speak for themselves: "The Master Plan Drawn Up by the Wreckers...", "The Evolution of Kondratyevism into Right-Wing Deviation," and so on.

It is 175 pages of vile abuse abounding with quotations from Lenin and Stalin and grotesque demagoguery. "Kondratyev headed a counterrevolutionary organization of wreckers of supplies for the workers.... The group of counterrevolutionaries from the 'scientific world' set themselves the task of securing victory for Denikin, Kolchak, Yudenich..., drew up plans to support and aid the generals' counterrevolution..., and made every effort to promote the provision of the best services possible for kulaks in the form of cooperative and credit facilities and agronomical measures... An arrant kulak ideologist, flirting with all hues of bourgeois and landowner reaction, Kondratyev entered into an alliance with the most disgusting agents of the world bourgeoisie—the wreckers... Stooges among the scientific fraternity allied themselves with stooges from the camp of 'our' 'Soviet' and 'left-wing' Mensheviks, and all of them together formed a bloc with inveterate wreckers among a certain section of engineers and other specialists.... Lackeys of the world bourgeoisie, castoffs of the Russian intelligentsia... pitiful camp followers of the bourgeoisie..."

It goes on: "The group of bourgeois and petty bourgeois scientists in the USSR like Kondratyev, Yurovskiy, Doyarenko, Oganovskiy, Makarov, Channon, Chelintsev, and others... embodied the anti-Marxist trend in the sphere of agricultural economics. These were the 'last' Mohicans of bourgeois, petty bourgeois, and all kinds of populist ideology in the agrarian sphere. At the present time this entire group has been exposed as the leading clique of a counterrevolutionary wreckers' organization which has set itself the direct task of overthrowing Soviet power and restoring the bourgeois landowner system."

No, at the present time this is no longer so! Times have really changed now!

On 16 July 1987 the Supreme Court Military Collegium heard the USSR prosecutor general's appeal on the case of 15 citizens sentenced in the thirties and overruled the sentences passed on them in 1931, 1932, and 1935. The Supreme Court rejected the charge of criminal activity against them. Not a single one of those found innocent lived to see this day. Among them were A. Chayanov, N. Kondratyev, A. Chelintsev, N. Makarov, L. Yurovskiy, A. Doyarenko, L. Litoshenko, and others.

Books [subhead]

Maybe I did not search well enough at the time, maybe I looked and did not see, but back in 1984, when I was preparing a report on long economic cycles for an international conference, I failed to find any of N.D. Kondratyev's books. A colleague came to the rescue at that time, kindly lending me his photocopies. This time I made my way to the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Scientific Information on the Social Sciences without any great enthusiasm. What a pleasant surprise: Nicely filed index cards listing books, journals, and three monographs in English. I ordered everything and, 3 hours later, held in my hands three books and six rejection slips—three books were out on ticket number so-and-so, the other three had been lost. One of the lost books was what I considered the main work: N.D. Kondratyev and D.I. Oparin, "Long Market Cycles. Reports and Discussion at the Economics Institute." I was interested in the names and arguments of the opponents who spoke at the Economics Institute on that memorable day in February 1926, when Nikolay Dmitriyevich read a report that is renowned in the history of world economic thinking.

"What do you mean, 'lost'?", I voiced my lack of comprehension. "Just lost." "By whom?" "I don't know." "And what if I fail to return these three that are already in my hands and tell you I've lost them... Can I pay you right away 10 times their cost price?" "You would have to find the book in another library and make a photocopy." "So let me have photocopies of those three." "I've already told you, they've been lost..."

Does this mean that it is possible to simply "lose" a book in the Academy of Sciences Central Library without anyone holding anybody else responsible? What about historians in the 21st century, what sources will they use in their search for the truth?

Now I held in my hands the "World Economy and Market Conditions During and After the War," published in 1922, and a thick volume of some 400 pages containing calculations, tables, graphs, charts, and diagrams—"The Economic Development of Kineshma Zemstvo in Kostroma Guberniya" (1915), written by Nikolay Dmitriyevich when he was 21 years of age. I could not help comparing them with the dissertations on economics which we defend on graduation from university. In size they are similar to present-day doctoral theses. They are, in fact, doctoral theses. The next book was "The Agrarian Question." A jubilee edition—published in 1917. The foreword by the Agrarian Reform League Steering Committee begins as follows: "The problem of our countryside's agrarian structure occupies an exceptionally important place among the tasks of the future building of a new Russia. Our motherland's future economic development will depend to the utmost degree on its correct solution..."

This is followed by a short manifesto: "We believe that: 1. Agrarian building in Russia must be based on cooperative labor peasant farms and all land in our motherland must be handed over to them; 2. This handover must be accomplished on the basis of a state plan for land ownership structure; 3. Land ownership structure is only part of the solution of the agrarian problem, which includes all questions concerning the general conditions of agricultural production, the organization of labor farms, and the organization of these farms' ties with the general world economy."

The league decided to publish several series of books on the agrarian question. Kondratyev's book was included in the "S" series with the preamble: "Authors bear sole responsibility for views expressed in books in this series." (What pleasure such a preamble would give to many publishers and current affairs writers today, how the range of our scientific debates would expand, how our scientific life would be emancipated!)

Thoughts, Ideas, Beliefs [subhead]

N.D. Kondratyev's views were close to those held by the Socialist-Revolutionaries. In 1917 he perceived the slogan "Land to the People" in its most direct and radical sense: To free peasants from oppression by merchant and financial capital, to socialize the land, and then to distribute it equally. Socialization of land was taken to mean not only the absence of private ownership—the right to sell, accumulate, rent, or lease—but also the granting of the right to use, the "labor right to land."

"Ownership of land must be destroyed. It is not the ownership of land but access to land that is important for the people. While someone or his family cultivate this land, nobody has the right to prevent his use of it... But as soon as he or his family cease cultivating the land, he no longer has the right to use it. The family must become the economic unit. The farming family must cultivate the land by its own efforts. No hired labor."

I read and reread this thin booklet, and a phrase from the league's appeal kept coming back to mind: Russia's economic development, and consequently its future, depends on the correct solution. We are a country of large-scale farming: giant kolkhozes, complete collectivization, socialization, no land ownership. But food supplies are either rationed, or imported from abroad, or spoiled as a result of negligence.

Maybe things would be better with Kondratyev's "family labor farms"? Small-scale farming, in other words? But what does he mean by "according to efforts and needs"? How is "equality" [uravnitelnost] to be achieved? According to the number of mouths to be fed or according to the number of working hands? What happens to those who are physically unable to feed their families? How about a sick peasant with five small children? What if the family plans to move to the city in a few years' time, exhausts the land, and leaves just a desert behind? After all, small-scale farming has been practiced in China only since 1978, but they have already come across instances of successful and enterprising peasants exhausting the land in just 10 years and then investing their money in trade. Leases are drawn up for 15 years, and then there is another land redistribution...

In 1917 N.D. Kondratyev was, like most of his generation, opposed to the capitalist form of land usage which presupposed the right to buy, sell, and lease land and the universal operation of commodity-money relations. The ideas of social justice and equality were invariably present in the debates of that time. Everyone yearned for equality. The best and correct way to achieve this seemed to be to give everyone an equal share, allowing them neither to buy more if that were not enough, nor to sell if they wanted to move to the city, nor to employ their neighbor nor let their neighbor receive more. The entire "rent income"—additional income earned from better-located or larger parcels of land—was to be classed as "unearned income" and paid into a national fund used to satisfy society's needs.

Seven years passed. Kondratyev was no longer a student with Socialist-Revolutionary leanings, but an eminent scientist, a shrewd and accurate analyst. He was in charge of the Institute for Market Studies under the People's Commissariat for Finance, one of the leading experts of the People's Commissariat for Agriculture, and editor of the journal EKONOMICHESKIY BYULLETEN. He was elected member of several scientific societies abroad, including the American Economic Association, the American Academy of Social Sciences, the Association for Agricultural Questions, sociological and statistical societies, and London's economic and statistical societies. He was just over 30 years of age and already was one of the country's best known economists. The most prestigious economic journals in the world were eager to publish his works. Inside the country his works on specific questions of economic building were published by newspapers and journals like EKONOMICHESKAYA ZHIZN, SOTSIALISTICHESKOYE KHOZYAYSTVO, EKONOMICHESKOYE OBOZRENIYE, PLANOVOYE KHOZYAYSTVO, and others. He played an active part in the elaboration of the first plan for the development of agriculture (Kondratyev's 5-year plan).

Nikolay Dmitriyevich profoundly learned the lessons of war communism, when the destruction of the monetary economy, the price system, and markets produced the most adverse consequences. It also became perfectly clear that the increase in the size of land parcels by 10% on average (through redistribution of lands held by large landowners) solved none of the problems, and that the main ills besetting the Russian peasantry, severely exacerbated as a result of the years of civil war and the policy of war communism, were still strip farming, inadequate availability of capital, and poor crop farming standards....

Both Plan and Market [subhead]

The new Kondratyev—like few economists of the time—perceived that the market was irreplaceable as a meeting place for demand and supply, as a procedure for comparing consumers' desires with production's potential. Kondratyev—again like few people in both our country and the West—realized the importance of prices as a most reliable and irreplaceable information system telling producers what consumers want from them.

In short, in 1924 Kondratyev was a mature and convinced theoretician of the commodity-money economy, assiduously seeking the most reliable and most accurate methods to describe and forecast market conditions and believing that only if we know the probable future can we draw up plans for its improvement.

Kondratyev's approach toward planning the socialist economy is distinguished by methodological precision and clarity of principles. He was convinced—and this most important idea clearly runs through his works—that victory by the new system and prosperity for the country's economy are possible only given the harmonious and balanced simultaneous development of both industry and agriculture. Today this idea is taken as read, but by no means everyone accepted it at the time.

He held that a progressive and desirable avenue for agriculture's development is one that "a) will provide a raw materials base for industry's development, b) will boost the country's export potential, c) will provide the broadest possible scope for employing the labor of the surplus agricultural population, d) will increase the rural population's taxable funds, and e) will produce the greatest rationality and stability in agriculture from the organizational-production viewpoint. Unless these demands are met, it is impossible to expect an upsurge of the entire national economy. In the interests of reviving markets for industrial products, it may be found desirable to progressively step up the market orientation of peasant farms and their involvement in the process of social production and market relations."

He clearly perceived the imbalance between labor and capital in terms of the surplus of the former over the latter. And he warned: "The inadequate provision of capital for agriculture could develop into a significant obstacle to agriculture's progress. In order to reduce these obstacles, it is necessary to accept as desirable the stepped up industrialization of agriculture."

Analyzing in detail the draft 1st 5-Year Plan submitted by Strumilin in 1927, N.D. Kondratyev revealed its inbuilt gross disproportions and proved that, given the planned rates of agricultural investment growth, it would be impossible to achieve the planned growth in exports of agricultural products, the growth of urban and rural prosperity, or the growth of accumulations matching this growth and necessary for industrial development.

Summing up his analysis of the 5-year plan, he wrote: "The necessary coordination between the projected dynamics of production, consumption, accumulation, export, and so on is lacking. In view of this, growth in one of the aforementioned spheres would render impossible the planned growth in others. The implementation of the proposed plan, even if it were possible, would not provide us with the best possible crisis-free path for the development of the national economy's productive forces, would not ensure real maximum satisfaction of the working masses' current demands, and consequently would hardly bring our national economy particularly close to substantial reconstruction. On the contrary, the plan's implementation would inevitably lead to greater economic difficulties." (PLANOVOYE KHOZYAYSTVO, 1927, No 4, p 33).

Kondratyev was not, as he was later accused of being, an opponent of swift industrialization. He was convinced that everything planned in this sphere could be achieved—provided the balanced development for which he was so concerned was not forgotten.

Struggle, But What Kind of Struggle [subhead]

Life proved him correct in many respects: The disregard for the principles of economic equilibrium and the desire to "spur on" the country's development rendered most of the 5-year plan's targets unattainable. The overconfident approach toward planning and the organization of production adopted by some economic adventurists from the Gosplan and the Supreme National Economic Council and their desire to please I. Stalin, the enthusiastic supporter of "furious pace," made the path to the goal inordinately difficult. It was important for them to silence the critics and force sober-minded and objective economists to keep their mouths shut. They achieved this, and much more.

This was, alas, no scientific struggle.

Nor was it a political struggle in the strict sense. Political life is strong and productive when the "rules of the game" are followed. Only on this condition does politics enable all of society's creative forces to emerge. But persecution was the main method used in this struggle. The fact that it was egged on by those in whom supreme political power was vested does not render it an act of state policy. The extermination of patriotically inclined scientists is an antistate policy, regardless of who implements it. As far as I know, Zinovyev was the first to apply the label of "Kondratyevism." He lacked both human decency and political foresight.

The destruction of N.D. Kondratyev and his colleagues was one of the first actions in a long struggle, lasting more than 20 years, against the genetic approach in science. Yes, indeed. The economic school was the first genetic school to be crushed when antidemocratic, antiscientific, and antihistorical forces gained the ascendancy.

This episode went down in the history of economics as the struggle between the genetic and teleological approaches toward the planning of the socialist economy. Please note: It was not a struggle between advocates and adversaries of planning. No, it was a struggle between different approaches toward socialist planning.

The essence of the "genetic" (historical) approach was that planning is impossible without estimating and forecasting the future. The program of socialist planning

must be based on knowledge of laws of development, on knowledge of economic laws. The economy is a living organism, in which each element has its own purpose. It is necessary to know how this organism lives and to assist it to function in the best possible fashion, to improve its structure, and to take account of its specific features and habits. It is thus and thus alone that planning can and must be done. Otherwise the results are voluntarism, plan anarchy, a fall in the population's living standards, and economic decline.

"Forecasting in socioeconomic life is possible, though its boundaries are extremely limited," Kondratyev wrote. "But these boundaries are not something fixed: They expand as scientific knowledge expands."

Kondratyev's approach toward socialist planning was fully within the lines of Lenin's concept of the New Economic Policy as a mixed commodity-money economy in which planning, socialist, and state principles modify and direct the flow of economic activity within the framework of a market economy for the sake of society's prosperity and the victory of the ideas of socialism.

He was opposed by another approach—the willful (voluntarist) approach which arrogantly disregarded experience, knowledge, historical laws, and social justice, known as the "teleological" approach. It can be said that this was a purely romantic and even decadent approach, because the deification of the willful and the rational to the detriment of all other phenomena in life is the principle of any decadence. Strumilin claimed in 1927 that "targets and advance instructions, rather than forecasting, are the central element of any plan" (Essays in Soviet Economics, 1928, p 479). In this specific instance, the essence of the teleological approach consisted of open disregard for the principles of scientific analysis in economics. Furthermore: "Our external and internal class stance is for us an organizing and guiding principle in relation to which science is nothing but a... handmaiden" (On the 5-Year Plan for National Economic Development: Debates in the Communist Academy, 1928, p 39). Handmaiden? For several decades thereafter we treated science as something dependent, made it a junior supplicant. Moreover, we adopted this approach not only toward economic science but to a certain extent also toward history and the social sciences...

While the genetic school declared that the supreme criterion of economic policy is the development of society's productive forces and the growth of the population's living standards, and the nationalization of property ought to be perceived only as a means used to achieve this goal, teleologists had a completely different view of the tasks of economic policy. Strumilin wrote in 1928: "We are not children: We are well aware that, as we advance toward social revolution, we are ipso facto condemning ourselves to a number of years of the reduction and destruction of productive forces." (On the 5-Year Plan for the USSR'S National Economic Development: Debates in the Communist Academy, 1928, pp 37-38).

Violence [subhead]

Some time later Kondratyev's idea of industrializing agriculture would be described as "undermining the foundations of industrialization" and market relations, far from continuing their forward development, would be reduced to a minimum, to the black market. Grain would not be sold by peasants, but confiscated. Proportions in distribution and the price structure would be upset. The market law of supply and demand would be replaced by the law of directive planning. The simple idea that you could not build in one place whole draining the life from another, which Kondratyev had reiterated incessantly in various guises, would become seditious. It was all over by 1930—N.D. Kondratyev did not deliver any more reports with his theoretical calculations, statistical appendices, and concrete recommendations. The heavyweight monthlies and bulletins and the Institute for Market Studies itself ceased to exist. Anything to do with the market became "capitalist intrigues," "bourgeois fabrications," and "pseudoscientific evidence" which had to be eradicated.

And Strumilin, the loyal knight of Gosplan, the "communist planner," as he called himself, triumphantly stated:

"In 1927... the Kondratyev school still enjoyed considerable clout and authority in Soviet circles. At that time our call—'it must be debunked and neutralized'—and our forecast that it would 'come to a bad end' seemed to many to be merely a very natural polemical passion. But it ended even worse than one might have thought. The complete moral degeneration of the Kondratyev school announced itself in the fact that, through the lips of its leaders, losing all its ideological preconditions, it admitted that its entire past had been one big mistake..."

In his 1930 article Strumilin really mocked the "bourgeois-procapitalist hostile idea of rabble from the old world in the planning organs" and disparaged the ideas of "market," "free commodity exchange," and "competitiveness." He rejected the terms "market equilibrium" and "economic accountability" [khozraschet] as unacceptable. He disliked the New Economic Policy, and his department was charged with overcoming it.

Many Gosplan officials had a hard time until 1930, while Kondratyev's Institute for Market Studies existed; while SOTSIALISTICHESKOYE KHOZYAYSTVO, VOPROSY KONYUNKTURY, and PUTI SELSKOGO KHOZYAYSTVA were published regularly; while there were people bold enough to analyze, find out, and judge

the results of plan experiments. They were also hindered by "Professor Kondratyev's agricultural 5-year plan," which had been approved by the Gosplan Agricultural Department.

But it was no hindrance after 1930....

Yesterday and Today [subhead]

But let us turn back to 1925. The USSR Gosplan Presidium is in plenary session. The discussion on the report has ended after several days. All the arguments "for" and "against" have been heard. Professor Kondratyev delivers his closing speech.

"What is our concept in fact? Our concept is that agricultural and industrial growth can occur only simultaneously. Developing agriculture creates a market for industrial output and, conversely, we claim that developing industry draws off the surplus agricultural population and creates a market for agricultural products. So in what sense do we claim that the development of agriculture is a precondition for industry's development and that, to quote Lenin, it is necessary to begin with the peasantry? We certainly do not claim, as Kritsman and Gorman accuse us of doing, that industrial output will inevitably always grow more slowly than agricultural output. We only claim that the accumulation of industrial capital is a slow process and that its acceleration presupposes the growth of agriculture and agricultural exports..."

N.D. Kondratyev's name has gone down in the history of world economic science primarily thanks to two achievements: The concept of the long waves of economic development (Kondratyev cycles) and his trailblazing studies in the sphere of modeling macroeconomic processes.

Kondratyev formulated his hypothesis of the existence of long cycles of economic activeness, lasting 40-60 years, in 1922. It has passed the test of time. It correctly forecast the depression of the thirties and makes it possible to understand the specific features of economic life in capitalist countries in the seventies and eighties.

Kondratyev's successes in the sphere of macroeconomic modeling became known only recently. He achieved substantial results in 1930-1934, during his incarceration in the Suzdal prison for political offenders [politizolyator]. The manuscript of one book still awaits a publisher. Another manuscript was lost in the prison archives. Only a brief outline contained in a letter to his wife indicates that Kondratyev was 10-15 years ahead of his U.S. colleagues in this sphere. We can be proud of yet another first by our science....

Today we realize that administrative, voluntarist planning is fraught with disaster for the country's development. The stifling of the variety of life and of the whole wealth of will and initiative makes life not only drab and boring, but also poor. When voluntarism replaces science it breeds—with the inevitability of a law of nature—mass lawlessness in economic and social life. It obstructs the country's natural and normal development in conformity with its natural, cultural, and social specific features. The stifling of the historical genetic approach works only to the detriment of the future.

From the Editorial Office

Today we have inaugurated a new rubric "From Our Heritage," in which we will write about outstanding representatives of scientific schools and trends, about economic leaders whose works are a credit to our fatherland. We know of many famous physicists, biologists, chemists, luminaries in medicine, and major designers. But for various reasons quite a few figures in science and technology have remained in the shadows. This applies in particular to our economists. Who are they, the ones who developed the economic sciences—political economy, management of social production, national economic planning? Today we have written about N. Kondratyev, a little while ago we wrote about V. Novozhilov. ("Both Perspicacity and Brilliant Thinking..." 27 September 1987). We hope that our readers will help us to build up a complete picture of those who influenced the development of advanced economic thinking in the twenties and thirties and throughout the subsequent Soviet decades.

Economic

CSA's Korolev Interviewed on Plan Fulfillment

LD232133 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 23 Jan 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The results of the fulfillment of the state plan for the economic and social development of our country in 1987 have been summed up. An interview with the chairman of USSR State Committee for Statistics, Professor Mikhail Antonovich Korolev:

[Correspondent] Mikhail Antonovich, what is your assessment of last year as a whole?

[Korolev] It was a special year, a jubilee year. It was rich in events of restructuring, whichis actively invading our life and has already begun to produce positive results. Let us take the results of last year. In industry, for example, the volume of production increased by 3.8%, or by 32 billion rubles. Is that a lot or a little? One measure is that this growth almost amounts to the volume of industrial production in all the Caucasian republics. In agriculture, the volume of production rose by 19 billion, compared with the annual average of the last 5-year plan. We obtained a (?fair) grain harvest: more than 211 million metric tons. Output of livestock products increased. In the construction industry, the scale of production increased and the renewal of basic funds was speeded up.

[Correspondent] Tell me, Mikahil Antonovich, is there any general indicator by which we can judge comparatively how we worked last year in comparison with the previous one?

[Korolev] Yes. In material production, it is the national income, which increased during the year 2.3%. As for the results of the whole national economy, including the nonproductive sphere, it is the gross national product, that we are now beginning to calculate according to the methodology of the United Nations; and this index has increased by 3.3%. That is a lot higher than in many of the main developed capitalist countries.

[Correspondent] Tell me, what has been done to solve social problems, for the population?

[Korolev] Well, in the first place, the tasks for the year outlined by the 5-year plan, for raising the wages of workers, office personnel, and collective farmers, and the social consumption fund, have been achieved and even exceeded. Sales of food and other goods and the real income of the population have gone up. The commissioning of housing and other facilities of a social nature has increased sharply. Attention to health, education, and many other matters connected with the needs of the people has increased. The moral climate overall has improved, and this has of course had an effect on demographic indicators. In particular, the birth-rate has gone up, and the mortality rate has declined. The average life expectancy has risen to nearly 70 years. As far as the population is concerned, it has increased by 2.8 million over the year.

[Correspondent] But nevertheless, we still have plenty of problems in the social sphere.

[Korolev] Yes, and this is primarily the housing problem. Over the past year we have commissioned more than 130 million suqare meters of floor space. This is a colossal amount of floor space. We have satisfied, improved conditions for 11 million people. But nevertheless, the backlog of improvements in housing is very large—about 13 million families and individuals. Of course, there are food products, there is a shortage of certian food products in a number of places, and here there is very much to be done, as in general regarding the production of various commodities, especially fashionable, new commodities, technically new commodities, which are in demand by the population.

[Correspondent] Well, what has to be done to speed up resolution of these problems?

[Korolev] The decisions and plans that have been adopted simply must be fulfilled. Unfortunately, things were not very good with plan discipline over the last year. It is sufficient to say that industrial enterprises undersupplied produce to the extent of R12 billion. Many collectives in the construction and agro-industiral sectors did not fulfill their planned tasks, and as a result our national income was short by R 13 billion overall. So, you can say, our wellbeing is down by that much, which entirely depends on us, on the work at each work station. This dependence will intensify even more when, this year, in 1988, many will be going over to the new conditions of management.

Rytov on Plan Results

PM261251 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Article by Yu. Rytov under the "Statistics and Our Commentary" rubric: "Economic Accountability Must Be Allowed to Work"]

[Text] The USSR State Committee for Statistics report on the results of the fulfillment of the state plan for the country's economic and social development in 1987 has just been published.

So how can we assess our work in the past year? Let us say frankly that the results achieved can satisfy no one. Of course, compared with the preceding year there has been a marked increase for all indicators. For instance, industrial output has increased by R32 billion, exceeding R870 billion. Agricultural output worth R220.1 billion was obtained. That is R18.8 billion, or 9.3% more than the annual average in the 11th 5-Year Plan.

But the most generalizing indicator for the state of the economy is the national income. In actual prices it was about R600 billion. It too has increased markedly over the past year—by 2.3% compared with the actual level for 1986. Nonetheless that is considerably less than the projected plan figures. After all, the plan provided for a 4.1% increase in the national income!

What are the reasons for the failures? The State Committee for Statistics defines them as follows: the nonfulfillment of targets for saving material expenditure, the lag in the growth of agricultural output, the reduction of foreign trade revenue, the cutback in the production of alcoholic drinks. The USSR Council of Ministers session which discussed the results of the fulfillment of the plan and budget and examined the country's economic position cited one more reason: the insufficiently active alteration of the structure of consumer goods production and buildup of its volumes. The 1987 underfulfillment by R13 billion of the target for the growth of the national income, the government session noted, has restricted opportunities for accelerating economic and social development in the country.

The USSR Government particularly noted that the positive changes in the economy have not yet become stable. Because of omissions in organizational and economic activity and the poor preparation of a number of ministries and departments of the union republic councils of ministers and of associations, enterprises, and organizations for work under the new conditions, a decline in production was allowed in the first months of last year.

Although the situation was rectified by the start of the second half of the year as a result of the measures which were taken and industry mainly entered into the rhythm of the annual plan, considerable damage was caused.

But, of course, it is not only quantitative indicators which should be used to measure the processes taking place in our economic life. Large-scale qualitative changes are also taking place here connected with the renewal of output and its accession to the level of the best world models. In machine building, for instance, the production of highly effective output increased over 10% last year. There was an increase in the production of progressive equipment, including forge and pressing machinery with digital program control, rotary and rotary conveyor lines, and computer hardware for scientific research. Progressive forms of the integration of science and production were actively developed. There are now 500 science and production associations and 23 intersectorial scientific and technical complexes operating in the national economy and one of their main tasks is to reduce the time taken to develop and introduce new technology.

We all followed with particular attention the work of the sectors which have switched to self-financing and full economic accountability [khozraschet]. There were 2,500 associations and enterprises operating under this regime last year. Now it is possible to sum up some of the results of their activity. They instill a certain optimism. The fulfillment of the plan for the sale of output with a consideration for contract commitments for these enterprises was 98.7%—higher than for industry as a whole (98.3%).

Nonetheless so far we have not succeeded in fully realizing the advantages of the new mechanism of economic management. A large number of enterprises which have switched to self-financing have failed to cope with the full volume of their commitments to consumers. As a whole industrial enterprises operating under the conditions of full economic accountability had a shortfall of about R400 million of the planned accumulations. The target for commissioning fixed capital was not fulfilled. But it was probably hard to expect better results. After all, the 2,500 economically accountable enterprises are only islets in the boundless sea of the economy which last year was working according to the old systems of economic management and which, alas, has retained the old illnesses of which the most dangerous consists in shortages in material and technical supplies...

Judge for yourselves. Last year consumers failed to receive output worth R12 billion. Above all output from the machine building and chemical and timber complexes. What kind of stable operation of the national economy could be discussed? The disruption of deliveries immediately led to breakdowns throughout the manufacturing chain generating stoppages on the one hand and rush work and crash programs on the other hand. Of course, the islets of economic accountability could not stabilize the situation...

But what is happening to our social affairs?

The substantial overfulfillment of the housing construction plan cannot fail to gratify us. Last year we received 2.3 million new well-appointed apartments. Their total area is 129.7 million square meters. The housing conditions of 11 million people were improved. On average each inhabitant now has a total area of 15.2 square meters, including a living area of 10.3 square meters. But in no way can we be complacent: The acuteness of the housing problem has not been eliminated.

Measures to implement the Food Program have made it possible to normalize the trade in many foodstuffs—vegetable oils, pasta, bread, wholemilk produce, and eggs. In the first 2 years of the 5-year plan the gross annual grain harvest has exceeded 210 million tonnes, which is 17% more than in the years of the 11th 5-Year Plan. The average annual volume of meat production has increased 13% and that of milk production 8.7%. Nonetheless we have not succeeded in overcoming the tension in supplying the population with meat and animal fats.

The supply of potatoes and vegetables (99 and 95% respectively) has not only failed to improve but has even deteriorated compared with the preceding year. The trade in this output has not been properly developed at markets by kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and consumer cooperatives.

The production of industrial goods is causing particular anxiety. The USSR Ministry of Light Industry failed to fulfill the annual plan: Consumers received R1 billion less output. The Ministry of the Communications Equipment Industry, the Ministry of the Chemical Industry, the Ministry of the Radio Industry, the Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry, the Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building, the Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry and several other ministries and departments did not cope with the targets for the production of consumer goods. Although state and cooperative retail trade turnover increased by R9.2 billion rubles compared with 1986, we did not succeed in fulfilling the plan for this indicator. We had a shortfall of R12.6 billion. That is why the acute shortage of many types of output, primarily of clothing, knitwear, and shoes, has persisted.

To what conclusions do the results of the past year lead?

Our current affairs and concerns have been unbelievably complicated. It is essential to make up the lag. That is why we must ensure this year economic growth rates which would exceed the average annual rates for the 12th 5-Year Plan. Otherwise the entire 5-year plan may be threatened with disruption.

Is this task feasible? I think it is. Because we now have methods of economic management which did not exist last year. The economic reform has entered a new phase. Economic accountability has become a mass possession. It should work. It should produce a return.

Belov on Report's Significance

LD262355 Moscow TASS in English 2322 GMT 26 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 26 TASS—The total increment in industrial production was ensured through a rise in labour productivity, without increasing the strength of the working personnel, in the USSR in the past year, for the first time in many years. In line with the planned pace, industrial production increased by 3.8 per cent. The figures were cited by Nikolay Belov, first deputy chairman of the State Committee on Statistics, speaking at the press centre of the USSR Foreign Ministry today. He commented on a report, published in the press a few days ago, on the results of implementation of the state plan of economic and social development of the USSR in 1987.

Nikolay Belov said that to have a generalised picture of the economy, the gross national product of the USSR is now estimated according to the U.N. method which takes into account the total sum of the profits of the enterprises, the organizations and the population and also the depreciation charges,. According to that method, the pace of growth of profits in the USSR in 1987 amounted to 3.3 per cent (In USA—2.3, FRG—1.9, France—1.8, Britain—three percent).

Social policy was actively carried into life in the past year: assignments for the growth of wages were exceeded, there were the beginnings of positive changes inproviding the population with food products, over 11 million Soviet people moved to new apartments last year.

Meanwhile, the results of the past year show, said Nikolay Belov, that it is not everywhere that the perestroyka work was up to the spirit of the times, the positive changes in the economy did not yet become steady. It is not everywhere that one saw in effect the durable factors of acceleration of the growth and enhancing of the efficiency of social production.

He underlined the vital significance of the consistent implementation of the strategy of acceleration and attaining a new quality of economic growth.

Resolution on New Foreign Currency Use

LD272218 Moscow TASS in English 2111 GMT 27 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 28 TASS—The USSR Council of Ministers has adopted a resolution on measures for the radical improvement of the system of selling goods through the Vneshposyltorg Association.

The resolution stipulates that foreign currency will no longer be exchanged for Vneshposyltorg coupons starting from July 1, this year, and the sale of goods with these coupons at specialized shops will be discontinued.

The coupons that remain in possession until that time will be exchanged for Soviet roubles according to the one-to-one ratio.

Payment by cheque will be widely used starting from July 1 in the sale of goods, mainly durables, and provision of services for foreign currency earned by Soviet citizens and transferred by them to accounts at the Vneshekonombank of the USSR.

Foreign currency on citizens' accounts at the Vneshekonombank of the USSR could be exchanged for Soviet roubles or used during trips abroad.

Merits of New Wage Funding Methods Compared

PM271653 Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 3, Jan 88 (signed to press 14 Jan 88) p 8

[Article by "Mosoblelektromontazh" Trust Manager V.Patrikeyev under the rubric "Self-financing: Experience, Problems": "The Second Option Is Preferable"]

[Text] It is well-known that the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association) envisages the transition of enterprises and associations to full economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing using one of two options. Let me remind readers that the first is based on normative distribution of profits, while the second is based on economically accountable revenue. Even though no preference is expressed for either option, it is easy to forecast which will be chosen by the majority of economic managers. It is considerably more difficult to operate using the second option, since the switch to it involves demolishing the current system of planning, accounting and reporting. The choice of the appropriate method would not greatly matter if both were equally valuable. But is this really so?

The "Mosoblelektromontazh" Trust under the Main Administration for Construction in Moscow Oblast is one of the few organizations (and the only one in the construction industry) to have been switched experimentally to work using the second option as from the beginning of 1987, by decision of the Commission for the Improvement of Management, Planning, and the Economic Mechanism. The comparative analysis of both methods which preceded the switch and our current results indicate that it enjoys fundamental advantages over the first option. What are these advantages? Let us examine them systematically.

One of the well-known basic principles of the reform of economic management is that the enterprise bears full responsibility for the results of its activity. The level of the labor collective's income must be directly dependent on these results. But is it? The first option envisages a

linkage between the size of the production and social development funds and the amount of profit earned. But, as before, the results of a collective's economically accountable activity have no effect on its wages. Wages are determined, using a normative, on the basis of the volume of construction and installation work performed or some other gross indicator. This shortcoming is of fundamental importance. This method of determining the size of earnings encourages the "pursuit" of volume at any price, regardless of cost. What sort of economic accountability is this, one may ask? Can anyone imagine that a proper steward would actually work like this?

On the other hand, the second option fully conforms with the principles of economic accountability, since the wages fund and the production and social development funds are directly dependent on the amount of revenue received. True, the extent of economic risk is immeasurably greater since the second option, in contrast with the first, offers an enterprise no chance to operate at a loss and at the same time pay the collective's wages punctually.

The restructuring of economic management also envisages the creation of a cost-cutting mechanism. For such a mechanism to operate reliably, it is necessary to ensure that every worker is interested in earning the maximum profit, in other words in the reduction of all types of costs. Under the first option, however, wages represent one of the largest costs. A worker can hardly be interested in reducing his own wages. A mechanism based on such a dubious principle will not function. The enterprise will begin striving (and practice has confirmed this) to obtain maximum wages by building up the volume of expensive, material-intensive work with no concern for savings, since the collective's interest in wages bears no comparison to its interest in receiving payments from the material incentives fund. Consequently, it is impossible to create a reliable cost-cutting mechanism on the basis of the first option.

Unlike the first option, the second provides acomplete solution for this problem. The state, the collective, and every worker are all interested in maximizing revenue and, consequently, in reducing all material costs.

The question of choosing one of the two options for economic accountability also has an important social aspect, since the role of wages within the system of indicators has a significant, if not decisive, influence on shaping people's mentality.

If wages are a part of the revenue received and, consequently, the size of wages depends not only on a given worker's specific contribution but also on the entire collective's end results, they inculcate in people a feeling of responsibility for the common cause, a feeling of stewardship. The opposite is also true, namely that when wages are proportionate to the expenditure of energy or time and are almost independent of end results, they shape the mentality of day laborers who are merely selling their manpower. This is why, in principle, wages must be not only an element of costs but also an organic part of the result of a collective's labor.

There is another consideration which prompts a preference for the second option. It may not be as fundamentally important as those mentioned above, but is of great practical importance. Under the first option, the material incentives fund usually amounts to some 10% of total profits and is utilized only with a substantial delay. If, for example, a team saves materials worth R100, it will receive only R10, and that only several months later. By that time the workers will have forgotten where the money came from and why they are being paid the incentive.

Matters are different under the second option. The wages fund amounts to (this is not difficult to calculate) about 60% of revenue, and money from it is paid out in the same month. In other words, the team in our example would receive not R10 but R60, and would receive it immediately after the saving was made. Is there any need to prove that the educational effect of incentives is far stronger in this instance?

These were the considerations that guided us when we made the decision to suggest our trust as the test bed for a practical experiment with the second option. And, as I have already said, life has confirmed the correctness of our assumptions. Our labor productivity increased almost 22% in 1987, we earned above-plan revenue of R2 million, and all electrical installation work at projects scheduled for commissioning was performed on time.

Let me describe briefly how matters are organized in our trust. Revenue is the basic indicator of the organization's activity. It is used to make payments to the budget and the superior economic organ. The amount remaining after these payments, known as economically accountable revenue, is used to form the wages fund, the social development fund, and the fund for the development of production, science, and technology. The size of the wages fund is limited by the following condition: The rate of wages fund growth must not be faster than the rate of revenue growth. Bearing this in mind, the trust's economic council sets the specific size of economic incentives funds for the trust as a whole and for its subdivisions.

The "Mosoblelektromontazh" has singled out about 80 production subdivisions which are the grassroots cells of economic accountability and primary links of collective contracts (these are installation sections, chief mechanics' sections and foremen's construction and installation departments, the trust's organizational apparatus, and several others). Each of these subdivisions is set a plan for revenue and is notified of normatives for forming the wages fund. Each economically accountable subdivision has elected an economic council which, in particular, approves wages fund utilization estimates and sets monthly coefficients of labor input for every worker.

In this way, the amount of revenue and consequently wages are fully dependent on how efficiently the production process is performed, and every worker is interested in maximizing cost reductions.

All this indicates that, when choosing an economic accountability option, preference should be given primarily to the second. In our view, it and it alone introduces fundamental changes in the hitherto prevailing economic mechanism. Nowadays one often hears the apt remark: There is no such thing as either full or partial economic accountability—it either does or does not exist. It is our belief that genuine economic accountability is represented only by the second option, by the distribution of revenue. What will happen to first option, you may ask? In our view, it can be perceived only as an interim stage, as—to use sports terminology—a warmup before the start.

More and more organizations which have switched to the second option of economic accountability will gradually begin to appear in the investment complex in 1988. This process can only be welcomed, but people are already inclined to introduce the innovation very slowly and cautiously. This is the point at which labor collectives in trusts must have their say, especially those already working profitably. They must be bolder in switching to the second option, the one that most fully reveals all the advantages of the new economic mechanism.

Minister Views Funding of Geological Service

PM291251 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 8 Jan 88 pp 1,2

[Interview with Ye. Kozlovskiy, USSR Minister of geology, by V. Kremer and T. Romanovskaya under the rubric "The Minister Answers You": "Geologists, Look to Your Calculations!" —first paragraph is unattributed introduction]

[Excerpt] The work of people who prospect for mineral resources always arouses heightened interest. What new things have appeared on the country's geological map? How long will the oil reserves last? What is the latest depth record? We must admit that we expected in advance a stream of questions like these when we announced that USSR Minister of Geology Ye. Kozlovskiy would feature under SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA's traditional rubric. However, the readers "did not justify our expectations." The focus of attention was not sensational discoveries and records but future changes in the economic life of geological enterprises and organizations; not the exotic aspects of the sector but its economy.

[Correspondent] Yevgeniy Aleksandrovich, to start our discussion we have chosen a question from O. Ivanova in Tyumen:

What is the main thrust of restructuring in the geological service?

[Kozlovskiy] I would formulate the key idea like this: The country's requirements for raw mineral resources should be ensured with the minimum expenditure of state funds. Appropriations for geology and prospecting for mineral resources now have to have economic substantiation for the first time. The principle is not to take from the treasury more than our work costs from the viewpoint of socially necessary expenditure.

Proceeding from this principle, we have elaborated a new counterexpenditure economic mechanism, which incidentally has no parallel in other sectors. It is based on normatives for the maximum cost of the geological end result. It is a kind of "barrier" over which nobody is allowed to jump. For instance, expenditure by an oil-exploration expedition per tonne increase ion oil reserves cannot under any circumstances be higher than the scientifically substantiated amount fixed for the given area of work. And the same for any mineral.

Of the two options of economic accountability [khozyaystvenyy raschet] envisaged by the Law on the Enterprise, we have chosen the so-called second model in which the rule of "living on one's own means" is taken to its logical conclusion. The collective must earn for itself not just the funds for production and social needs, but indeed the whole sum intended for distribution. The source for forming the labor payment fund is the economically accountable [khozraschetnyy] income which remains after the deduction of all material expenditure, compulsory payments to the budget and ministry, and bank credit interest. Allocations to its own enterprise's development fund must also be made first. And so it turns out that, if the bosses are negligent, it is perfectly possible that on payday the till will be empty.

[Correspondent] A risky step!

[Kozlovskiy] It depends for whom. Wherever matters are conducted assiduously, the collective will stand to gain. After all, the maximum wage in the new conditions is not limited by any "ceiling"—everything depends on work results and the individual contribution. It will come hard to those who do not know how to reckon expenditure and income, secretly hoping that, whatever happens, people will not be left without wages. Of course, breaking through this mentality will not be painless. But I do not think we should go to the other extreme and unnecessarily dramatize the situation.

We had a case at the "Krymgeologiya" Association when in actual fact there were not sufficient funds for the wages. True, the money was found—they took out a loan from the republic ministry. But the real threat of "bankruptcy" rocked literally the whole collective. There was an end to mismanagement without loud appeals and slogans. A new general director was chosen. The overall

workforce was cut by just over 300 people. All this made it possible to improve the economic position and reach the planned level of income.

If we are to be fully consistent, it must be admitted that tariffs, rates, and wages fixed from above are a concession to the old "pre-restructuring" approach to labor payment. Where will the sense of being master come from, if the enterprise's income is not directly linked to the workers' wages? Either we grant the labor collectives really total, economically accountable independence, or we reduce everything to merely playing at economic accountability and return once more to leveling.

[Correspondent] L. Belyayeva, Bayram-Alinskaya Exploratory Expedition Planning Section chief, asks you to describe how things are going in the collectives which are already working in the new way.

[Kozlovskiy] Since the start of 1987 16 of our production associations have gone over to full economic accountability and self-capitalization. They have successfully fulfilled all their geological targets. The plans for increasing oil and gas reserves have been significantly overfulfilled, and expenditure on exploration per tonne of ideal fuel has been reduced by almost 20%. Altogether, economically accountable enterprises earned R35 million of extra income. This enabled them to increase their labor payment funds by 22% per worker.

I would, however, not begin to turn these figures into an absolute, remembering that so far only the uppermost layer of the reserves has been removed and we have still not reached the deep-seated strata. It is evidently no even so much the dynamics of production indicators as the dynamics of production relations which will tell us better about the first results of the experiment.

In Alma-Ata, where we held a school of advanced experience, I was told the following story.

In the first month of working in the new way, the wages of the drillers at the "Tsentrkazgeologiya" Association suddenly fell sharply. People began to seek the reason for this. It was found that a good proportion of income was being eaten up by expenditure on transport. Before, people had paid no attention to this and drivers' logs were signed without looking. Now that generosity had hit painfully at their own pockets, they started to keep a strict eye on things to ensure there was no "forgery."

However, matters did not end there. Deprived of their unearned profits, the drivers found themselves on the rocks. A rumpus was raised in the transport shop: How could they survive without padding the data? The volumes were counted up, the itineraries were made more precise, and several spare vehicles were discovered in a pool engaged in delivering freight to drilling workers. It was not difficult to find them other work. Everything is now in its place.

The last thing I want to do is to paint the picture a rosey hue, as they say. Everything is not that simple. For example, economically accountable enterprises have completely cleared the depots of above-normative stocks of materials and equipment. Such a thing has never happened in the sector before! But how should we regard the fact that applications for progressive new equipment have decreased? Will not such a tendency lead to a slowdown in scientific and technical progress? Will not the economy turn itself inside out?

Economic accountability forces people to "roll along faster" and not wait for instructions, to display initiative and enterprise for themselves. But then alarm signals are already being received that in some places enterprises is overstepping the bounds of what is permitted. In the desire to increase income, people have picked up outside orders to the detriment of the main geological task. The collective gains, but the work suffers—that is the unexpected reversal.

There is still not total clarity, either, over the maximum normatives. Analysis shows that unfortunately we have still not managed to ensure that they reflect in depth the essence of the geological target and limit expenditure most precisely.

All this must be clarified and we must investigate the essence of what is happening, not just hope that it will somehow settle down on its own.

[Correspondent] Candidate of Geological-Mineralogical Sciences V. Kopayev from Tashkent asserts that economic accountability cannot be considered total as long as geological exploration work is financed by the state. In his opinion, it is necessary to go over to direct, economically accountable relations between organizations in the USSR Ministry of Geology system and the extractive sectors of industry.

[Kozlovskiy] At first sight, the proposal is fully in the spirit of the time. But let us look how this should be done and, most importantly, at whether it is necessary.

At the moment extractive enterprises deduct into the budget so-called tonne rates—payments for the depreciation of deposits. They receive the deposits themselves free of charge. This is justified for at least two reasons.

First, the utilization in this sphere of commodity-money relations would lead to the withdrawal of huge funds from circulation. Proceeds from the "sale," for example, of just one of the Astrakhan gas condensate deposits would immediately cover all our expenditure for many years ahead. But instead of working, the money would lie like a dead weight with us.

Second, the extractive sectors' requirements today by no means always coincide with long-term national economic aims. And, after all, we know that he who pays the piper calls the tune.

No, when it is a question of forecast resources and the exploration of deposits which form the country's national wealth, we must not be guided by departmental interest.

Tasks on this scale must be tackled on the basis of state orders and the state should finance such work. What is more, I am deeply convinced we need a state mineral raw material resources program covering a long period ahead.

In expansion of the raw material base of mining enterprises already operating is another matter. He the consumer could pay for the preparation of reserves for exploitation. Evidently, sooner or later we will still come to this. However, the question rests on the fact that our deep-seated reserves are priceless. Without a value assessment of resources, genuine economically accountable relations are impossible.

[Correspondent] Geogphysicist B. Sharmakova from Sverdlovsk Oblast is interested in your personal opinion about the liquidation of the republic geology ministries.

[Kozlovskiy] I am not simply in agreement, but I believe this decision is fundamentally correct. Though, to be honest, the union republic structure made life easier to use in a certain sense. If something was wrong, it was always possible to say: "They have got their own minister there, their own ministry, so why are they looking at us?" But the problem is too serious to reduce everything to the opportunity to defend oneself from criticism, or on the contrary the desire to take up the reins of management oneself.

It is no secret that some local leaders to a considerable degree think the level of the office that they occupy. Subjective appraisals and concepts prevent them from correctly choosing priority directions in the development of the country's raw mineral resources base and from correctly placing the accents in deciding on strategically important taks. When the financial means and material and technical resources have already landed in the republic budgets and plans, it is then impossible to redistribute them as the actual situation demands. So that the abolition of the intermediate links also resolves the question of mobility, freedom to maneuver, and ultimately the national economic effectiveness of geological exploration.

With the transformation of the Ministry of Geology into an all-union ministry, three-fourths of all our organizations will work according to a two-tiered management system.

[Correspondent] A group of Kamchatka geologists asks why state geological associations are being created?

[Kozlovskiy] In any event, not to "fill the vacuum" due to the liquidation of the republic ministries and administrations. We want to "tie" the state associations to the main geological regions. Then they will be able to work as major organizations on the basis of standard methods and unified projects and plans drawn up for the conditions and special characteristics of the particular region.

Let us take, for example, the Caspian basin. Seven geological associations are currently working there in isolation on an area of over 500 square km; until recently they were subordinated to Alma-Ata and Moscow. It is not difficult to imagine how many complex questions arise there, caused by different approaches to the study of similar natural objects, not to mention the dissipation of funds and resources. Now the state association created there has been set a specific task: to concentrate the forces of all that region's production and scientific subdivisions on discovering the oil and gas potential of the Caspian area. [passage omitted]

Professor on Value, Purpose of Production

PM281021 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jan 88 Second Edition p 2

[Article by Doctor of Economic Sciences Prof D. Valovoy under the rubric "Toward the 19th All-Union Party Conference: Radical Economic Reform": "The Economy in the 'Human Dimension'"; boldface as published]

[Text] The 27th party congress' formulation of the question of the **new quality of growth** is one of the revolutionary tenets of the radical economic reform. Ensuring it in practice depends largely on balance between the value (monetary) and physical-material volumes of production. The country's gross social product and national income were **up** by a factor of 2.8 in 1985 compared with 1965. But during that period production of grain, meat, milk, vegetables, textiles, and footwear and commissioning of housing per ruble of national income and gross product **fell** by a factor of two, and production of potatoes by a factor of four in physical terms. The ratio of goods to money as a whole fell.

Why has this gap come about? What are the ways to eliminate it?

As is known, a commodity has two properties: **utility** and **value**. "A thing's usefulness," Marx remarked, "makes it a utility," that is, something that satisfies the needs of man and society. But value is determined by the socially necessary labor for an article's manufacture.

Utility is the human dimension of anything manufactured in production. Unfortunately, we frequently forget this.

As early as the first 5-year plans the cost-based management mechanism took shape and operated in the country, ignoring objective economic laws and, above all, the law of value. Its essence was this: **The greater the production volume in rubles, the better the evaluation made of work**.

The shortcomings of that mechanism did not emerge at once, and this is why. When output growth occurred chiefly by extensive means, the costs and the results mainly coincided. During the sixties conditions were created for increasing production of utilities as a result of intensification, **at the same or even lower cost**. However, the party and government decisions on switching from the extensive to the intensive path of development were fulfilled poorly. At the same time, with the help of numerous instructions and systems of methods, the wastefulness of extensive growth was turned into... the efficiency of intensification. A direct dependence was established between them: the more of the former, the higher the latter. Now, during the radical reform outlined by the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum, such normative documents are being repealed not in their hundreds or thousands but in tens of thousands!

Volume and Rates [subhead]

The classics proved scientifically the different roles of embodied and live labor in forming a product's value: The former merely transfers its value to the newly created product, while the latter increases it. This was made the basis of the classic reproduction schemes, in which both Marx and Lenin excluded the double counting of objects of labor from the value of the global social product.

It was acknowledged at statistical congresses and conferences in the twenties, underpinned by the classics' conclusions and by world practice, that the gross output indicator, which includes double counting of objects of labor, is unsuitable for determining the value volume of production and its growth rates.

Nevertheless, gross (commodity) output expressed in rubles became firmly established in the role of the **"meter"** in the economy. That led to artificial overstating of the volume and rates. Planning on the basis of the attained level aggravated and exacerbated that process. This is how the structure of the gross social product appears in percentages:

	1965	1985
Gross product	100	100
National income	46.0	41.7
Depreciation	5.2	7.4
Objects of labor	11.4	11.7
Sum of double counting	37.4	39.2

The sum of the gross product reflects economic turnover in the national economy, but in practice it is also utilized **in the role** of the value of the global social product. But, by its very essence, it cannot express it. Why? **First,** because it includes the sum of double counting, which, as the table shows, makes up almost 40%. **Second,** "utility is realized only in use or consumption." This means the approximately R200 billion frozen in above-normative stocks and in incomplete construction has not become a utility. **Third,** the sum of the gross product represents not socially necessary costs but all costs, including the artificial increase in the price of a product which results from unwisely expended means of production. These, according to Marx, "do not participate in forming product value."

Thus, the gross product is roughly twice the value of the global social product.

Under the new management conditions commodity output is used for computation [raschetno], and gross output, in view of the unpopularity of the word, hardly gets a mention.

In this connection let us say for noneconomists that gross, commodity, and realized output are sisters of different ages. There are no fundamental differences between them: They embrace not only current but also past labor and the sum of double counting. There is no denying that, as long as commodity-money relations exist, these indicators are not only necessary but also irreplaceable for certain purposes. But they are essentially unsuitable for measuring economic growth and assessing the work of economic components.

The translation of commodity (gross) output into accounting indicators is formal. The rate of economic growth, the wages fund, and economies in expenditure of material resources still depend on its sales volume expressed in rubles. Moreover, the supremacy of gross indicators has increased. This is why. For a long time many economic leaders, who have now retired for a deserved rest, worked indefatigably to create a semblance of well-being in the sectors entrusted to them. To that end they artificially extended double counting of materials and semimanufactures, raised materials-intensiveness, and "flushed out" cheap ranges, replacing them with expensive ones. In general, they made output as expensive as they could and also hiked prices by replacing labels, grades, and so forth, sometimes not even shunning figure padding. But everything that they so zealously overreported and "cranked up" ended up in the "attained level," and even the simple maintenance of this is frequently inconceivable without using the same means and methods whereby it was attained.

Not to Confuse... [subhead]

Karl Marx cautioned:

"In order not to confuse matters by creating useless difficulties, it is necessary to distinguish gross proceeds (gross output—D.V.)... from gross income (net output—D.V.)."

Do we distinguish these concepts? Unfortunately, no. National income is determined by subtracting material costs from the gross product obtained. Even if the sum

obtained in this way corresponds to the newly created value, it is of little use because it is estimated only at the level of the national economy. Net output was not used as a comprehensive measure at all levels of management. The principle that operated here was: "Pile it high, then we will sort it out." This was discussed in articles published in PRAVDA as much as 10 years ago. The numerous responses included an interesting letter from Austria. L. Mashe-Sunitsa wrote:

"I am surprised and staggered at the consistency with which bourgeois political economy adheres to the economic teaching of Marx on particular questions and at the persistence with which Soviet political economy, while verbally proclaiming faith in the teaching of Marx, essentially pushes it aside..."

There is a grain of truth in that assertion. Judge for yourselves. Before producing a new product (machine), a capitalist determines how much material will be required in physical terms and what the labor-intensiveness is in norm-hours and compares them with the normatives for existing analogues. He will give the go-ahead for production only if the new product makes it possible to save on current and past labor or if an insignificant increase in them improves the commodity's quality and increases its service life. The use of the theory of labor value in capitalist practice within the framework of enterprises and corporations has been raised to perfection. There is also considerable experience of applying the law of **saving time** at our enterprises, but it has not been in demand under conditions of the supremacy of cost-based methods of management. It is possible, in particular, to name the experience of Moscow's "Dinamo" Plant in using norm-hours and norm-rubles, which was approved by the CPSU Central Committee and yet was "smothered" by gross output.

In the report devoted to the 113th anniversary of V.I. Lenin's birth, urging people to "save not only current labor but also embodied labor, the labor embodied in machine tools, machines, raw materials, and semimanufactures," M.S. Gorbachev said:

"Lenin believed it is absurd to increase labor productivity without lowering the cost of a product, if you take this as a common phenomenon."

But was this "absurdity" in economic practice not a "common phenomenon"? Is growth in prices still not an important factor in "increasing" labor productivity?

The sum expressing national income by no means fully corresponds to its substance. Why? Above all, because almost 15% of the volume of national income is frozen in above-normative stocks and in incomplete construction. In addition, for many years individual labor expenditure was overstated—and quite substantially—in calculations to approve product prices. The profitability norm was also set arbitrarily.

The existing "procedure" for measuring newly created value strikes us as unfounded. It is a complex matter to increase the sum of national income attained without the former extravagant cost-based methods and a higher profitability norm. The planned doubling of national income by the year 2000 on the existing base will increase still further the gap between rubles and the utilities that people need and that are measured in a human way.

In order "not to confuse matters," measurement of the new quality of economic growth must be founded **on cost-cutting prices,** for whose basis it is more expedient to use the normative of materials expenditure per product unit, its planned (normative) labor-intensiveness, and a unified profitability norm in the sector. To measure economic growth use should be made of net and notionally net output (but all cost indicators, including variants of net output, must be calculated not in words but in deeds).

The conclusion of the participants in PRAVDA's "Business Club," who discussed this problem last year, was unanimous:

The measurement and assessment of the new quality of economic growth on the basis of indicators which include double counting of past labor is theoretically unsound and extravagant in practice! It is necessary to distinguish between gross and net output at all levels of management—from the enterprise to the national economy as a whole.

Replying to a question asked by the "Business Club" participants, N. Belov, USSR State Committee for Statistics first deputy chairman, said:

"Speaking specifically about time, it is possible to introduce net and notionally net output into broad practice as early as 1988."

The 3d year of the 5-year plan has arrived—1988. Unfortunately, it is not yet possible to detect the replacement of gross measurements by scientific criteria.

The Purpose [subhead]

Who among us has not admired the erudition of the participants in the television program "What? Where? When?"? In a matter of seconds they answer questions that demand encyclopedic knowledge and memory. But when, as a puzzle, they were asked to describe Karl Marx' chief work—"Das Kapital"—they "floundered." In a television linkup with the FRG our participants were unable even to name the year and place of birth of Karl Marx, the founder of scientific communism. A coincidence? I think not. Reading the classics in the original has "gone out of fashion." Even many titled representatives of science have poor knowledge of the work of the classics of Marxism-Leninism and their principled conclusions and theses. Hence the distortions

and fabrications about the inefficiency of... socialist methods that are not used in practice, and the nostalgia for market economics, inflation, and unemployment. Let us take the purpose of production.

Theoretically the purpose of socialist production is the fullest satisfaction of the people's needs at the lowest cost. This is the essence of the fundamental economic law of socialism. It is recorded in the new edition of the CPSU Program.

But in practice the purpose of production collectives even under the new conditions of economic management is to increase the volume of commodity and realized output still in rubles and, in construction, the sum of assimilated (expended) funds. If enterprises fulfill contract pledges but underfulfill the plan with regard to volume in rubles, then their growth rates fall correspondingly, the sum of wages diminishes, and economic incentive funds are "slimmed down." If they fulfill the volume in rubles but fail to meet contracts and project handover deadlines, then they lose bonuses. The lesser of the two evils is chosen. Delivery shortfalls under contracts exceeded R11 billion last year. But that sum was exceeded by many. A familiar picture: They fail to make deliveries but fulfill the plans. They pursue what is more expensive, is not subject to state acceptance, and... is not in demand. Hence the paradoxes: There is a lot of metal in storehouses, bt there is a shortage of good-quality, economical types of metal products.

The new enterprise law puts the purpose of production "back on its feet." Its first article proclaims:

Enterprises (associations) play the chief role in developing the country's economic potential and attaining the supreme purpose of social production under socialism—the fullest satisfaction of people's growing material and spiritual needs.

But there are still many old obstacles and hasty, purely formal restructurings on the way to realizing it. Thus, according to a new instruction (about whose paradoxes PRAVDA wrote 3 November 1986), the wages fund is still not properly linked with the labor-intensiveness and quality (range) of output produced or with the fulfillment of contract pledges. The enterprise pays the collective for its work according to the labor-intensiveness of the output produced, while its wages fund is planned according to the volume in rubles, from the base reached. Therefore, as previously, it is unprofitable to produce cheap goods, above all spare parts and consumer goods. It seems to us scientifically substantiated to have a wages fund formed on the basis of the normative (planned) labor-intensiveness of the goods actually produced.

A party and government resolution proposes reducing the normatives for expenditure of the most important types of raw materials and semimanufactures in physical terms per unit of output. But the instruction on drawing up targets for reducing metal expenditure norms, approved by the USSR Gosplan and the USSR State Committee for Statistics in June 1987, recommends determining the saving by comparing actual expenditure with that reached in the preceding period per R1,000 (R1 million) of commodity output.

In short, the new conditions also preserve the "stockpot" method of expending live and past labor per ruble of gross output. As a result, the wastefulness stemming from the increased materials- and labor-intensiveness of products is concealed by preferential growth in the volume of output in rubles and still appears efficient on paper.

There is another problem. Resolution No 816 of 17 July 1987 on restructuring planning states:

"The CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers advance the urgent task of realizing complete balance between plans at all levels of national economic planning. The USSR Gosplan is to be prohibited from submitting drafts of unbalanced plans for consideration by the USSR Council of Ministers."

That requirement is not being properly fulfilled. Unbalanced plans at all levels are still not an exception.

To give the new enterprise law the "green light," it is necessary to renounce in practice the use of **cost-based** indicators in assessing the work of economic components and to replace them with **result-based** indicators, that is, ones which reflect the dynamics of the level of satisfaction of the needs of people and society with regard to the most important types (groups) of utilities in physical terms. The fulfillment of contracts must be made **in practice** the chief assessment indicator. The wages fund must be made directly dependent on the labor-intensiveness of the output actually produced under contracts.

M.S. Gorbachev made principled points on this problem during his speeches and conversations with working people in Leningrad and Murmansk. Many years' practice, he said, has accustomed us to handle confidently figures for growth in production volumes, tons of cast iron, steel, and oil, cubic meters of gas, timber, and so forth. But figures, volumes, tons, and cubic meters are not needed in themselves. Incidentally, even now we have many volumes in rubles, tons, and cubic meters. The chief thing is how they reflect the real growth in the utilities essential for enhancing the working people's well-being and improving their spiritual and cultural life. It is necessary to assess the economy's efficiency and the social consequences of restructuring **"in the human dimension"**. [Following paragraph is PRAVDA editorial note]

FROM THE EDITORS: We invite economic leaders, specialists, and scientists to send in materials showing: How is the new enterprise law helping the matter? What difficulties are arising in the course of realizing the

radical reform, and what is proposed to resolve them? What else must be done to elaborate a **cost-cutting** management mechanism before the end of the 5-year plan?

Agricultural

Uzbek Cotton Plan Reduced, Made 'Realistic'

PM281415 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 4, 24 Jan 88 p 8

[Interview with Uzbek State Agro-Industrial Committee Cotton Production Department head Renat Nazarov by Unnamed correspondent: "No More Window Dressing"—date and place not given]

[Text] The plan for cotton production this year in Uzbekistan has been cut by half a million tons as compared with 1987. The target figure for 1988 is only 5.25 million tons. Our correspondent asked Renat Nazarov, head of the cotton-production department at Uzbekistan's State Agro-industrial Committee, to comment on why it was decided to reduce the plan.

"This decision is the first of its kind in decades. The promised that the Republic would soon be producing as much as six million tons of raw cotton a year. But nobody cared whether the figure was realistic. As a result, reports claimed the output of cotton was increasing, while the textile industry suffered from shortages of the raw stuff. One needn't be a professional investigator to figure out the contradiction: the reports were phony.

"The plan we've now adopted is realistic and will help us tackle the urgent problems facing the cotton-growing industry, among others in the Republic. First, we can abandon the one-crop system—which has impoverished the soil—and begin alternating cotton with alfalfa. This would allow us to improve the soil over hundreds of thousands of hectares. If in 1987 the share of alfalfa fields amounted to 14 percent, then in 1990 it will be 22 per cent. Cotton will occupy not more than two-thirds of the area under cultivation, while the remaining one-third will be used for growing forage and cereal crops or vegetables and fruit. To restore the fertility of the soil we also intend to let 65,000 hectares lie fallow this year. By 1990, the unsown area is to cover 200,000 hectares.

"Second, we plan to introduce much more advanced technology in cotton growing. By the end of the 12th Five-year plan period, i.e., by 1990, it will be used on 460,000 hectares.

"Third, our main concern will be not the quantity, but the quality of our produce. Some 50,000 tons of the cotton gathered in 1986 are still in Uzbekistan's cotton-cleaning plants, having been rejected by light industry. That is why we are focusing our attention on producing the types and kinds of cotton the industry actually needs.

"And one other thing. Cotton growers are now more confident that what they are doing is really beneficial for the nation. Their earnings will depend solely on their work: pay will be linked to the quantity and quality of raw cotton, in other words—to the end result. As for profits pocketed by the farms, they will be allocated in the first place for social programmes such as rural construction. By the year 2000, we plan to have built two and a half times as much housing as we did in the previous 15 years."

'Radical Reform' Questions Kazakh Grain Growing

PM281329 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Jan 88 Second Edition p 1,2

[Report by correspondent D. Gutenev under the rubric "Radical Reform: Experience, Problems": "Two in the Bush"]

[Text] West Kazakhstan—West Kazakhstan is regarded as a zone of risk farming. The revenue from crop farming often fails to justify the expense. Whereas formerly, as a result of the redistribution of profits, the economy of loss-making and low-profit farms was shored up somehow, what can they expect in in the new management conditions, where every ruble has to be counted. Bankruptcy?

There had been 12 speakers. There was the usual call from the floor: Stop the debate! The chairman rose, intending to support the proposal. But too late.

"So we just break it up, do we?" He was beaten to it by a loud voice which caused bewilderment and aroused the Uralsk Party Obkom members' keen curiosity.

A heavyset, sunburned man came up. The word was passed on in whispers: "Kozhevnikov from the 'Pugachevskiy' Sovkhoz, a team leader."

"I don't feel the comrades have come up with any concrete proposals. They are all half-measures," the team leader lamented. "Back in 1953, when I was at machine operator school, we knew all about extensive and intensive agriculture. But, apparently, only now are our eyes being opened. In over 3 decades the sovkhoz has achieved the planned yield only eight times and has exceeded it only twice. You say we're not trying? Well, show me a farm in the oblast where they achieve it regularly. Given the kind of planning they have at the moment, there is no point for the team, rayon or oblast to even think about self-financing."

The grain grower's anguish struck a chord in all those present in the hall. What the team leader had said about the "Pugachevskiy" might apply both to Burlinskiy Rayon, where the farm is situated, and to the whole of Uralsk Oblast. Since the Virgin Lands began to be opened up, an 8-quintal yield—the point at which it begins to be commercially viable—has been achieved only 14 times.

The neighbors in Aktyubinsk Oblast have even worse indicators. Over the same period only on five occasions have per-hectare yields in the local fields risen to the level that makes arable farming profitable and only on seven occasions have they made ends meet.

Yet the country has gotten grain and profit has been obtained! The "tricks" of past years are no longer being concealed. They would sow the fallow. They would wipe out the forage stocks. The accent was on plowing up pasture. The annual incrase in sowing on low-yield land and solonetz exceeded 100,000 hectares. Instead of the term "arable," the absurd "land under cultivation" appeared in statistical reports.

The law of gravity operates independently of our wishes. Why is it considered the norm not to take into account one of the chief agronomic laws—the law of the minimum? If a plant is short of one thing, no superabundance of everything else will make up for it. They tried to disprove this law in Aktyubinsk Oblast. Extensive methods were established as the basis of the concept of increasing grain production.

Its author, former party obkom First Secretary V. Liventsov, formulated his credo as follows: "Grain production can be increased in two ways—either by increasing yields or by increasing the area. The former is impossible in the case of Aktyubinsk Oblast. That leaves the latter. If it is a bad crop, then it is a bad crop everywhere; but if it is a good year, we will come out on top."

The oblast is massive. The personnel of the local "Kazgiprozem" [Kazakhstan State Agricultural Planning Institute] branch quickly rejigged the crop rotation and gave the concept a "scientific" foundation. No good resulted from bringing land into use on a massive scale. There was grain in the first 1-2 years. Then the salt that had been brought to the surface suffocated all living things.

However, Liventsov, who had a well-deserved reputation for severity, stuck firmly to his line. People were frightened to argue with him. Another 1.8 million hectares, which they had previously refused to open up, was sown with grain. In 1981 the state received 1,642,000 metric tonnes. The plan appeared to have been vindicated. But then came the decline.

The secretary soon retired, having received the title Hero of Socialist Labor, and moved to Moscow, leaving it for others to find a way out of the economic impasse. The disregard for agronomic laws resulted not only in a sharp reduction in soil fertility, buildup of weeds, and a low grain harvest. Livestock raising—once a strong sector—faced the threat of decline. In the 11th 5-year plan it maintained 10% profitability only by increasing purchase prices.

Of course, one could accuse grain growers of lacking zeal. They would agree that sometimes they apply fertilizers any which way. That they do not use subsurface tillers extensively enough. In some places they miss deadlines and they are diffident when it comes to using new varieties. They would also accept some of the responsibility for the occupied fallow—they yielded to pressure. But it is no secret that ear formation and swelling of grain take place in Aktyubinsk Oblast in conditions where there is an obvious lack of moisture. There is an extremely small amount of precipitation in May-July, during the spring wheat growth period.

But even in wet years local harvests are much smaller than those in North Kazakhstan. The soil is the limiting factor. The average rating of arable in Aktyubinsk Oblast, according to the 1971 assessment, is 2-3 times lower than in North Kazakhstan and Kustanay Oblasts, for instance. The average annual yields in the 10th and 11th 5-year plans were 14.2 quintals in North Kazakhstan Oblast, 10.8 in Kustanay Oblast, and 6.5 in Aktyubinsk Oblast. But expenditure per hectare was practically identical. The technology was the same.

One might object and say there are differentiated purchase prices for the agricultural products kolkhozes and sovkhozes sell to the state. The economists' intention is that they should, on the one hand, cover production costs and, on the other hand, ensure enough funds are accumulated for expanded reproduction. But is the local grain price fair? In the Aktyubinsk and Uralsk Oblasts zone it is only a tiny bit higher than in Kustanay and North Kazakhstan Oblasts. As for barley, the difference is even smaller. Now compare the per-hectare yields. There is no comparison either when it comes to quality. Because of drought and strong hot, dry winds during the swelling period, the grain of strong varieties of wheat did not meet the All-Union State Standard. There was enough gluten, but the grain was brittle. In 1986 only 5.5% of the 306,000 tonnes of strong varieties of wheat sold was first-class and it was bought at a 50% premium.

Of course, purchase prices were raised, but not to the extent that they guaranteed a sound livelihood for farms. Equipment and fertilizer prices also rose....

The rush to expand areas led to the sowing of around 600,000 hectares of grain even in Aktyubinsk Oblast's third natural climatic zone where the arable land was even worse, where there was only 350,000 hectares of it. In the spring they sowed the select grain to obtain the same quantity, but of a much poorer quality, a few months later and at great expense.

As many as 15 years ago grain cultivation was 1.5-2 times cheaper in both oblasts. Why has it became more expensive? An analysis of expenditure on the best farms shows that the proportion of depreciation, ongoing repairs, and overheads has doubled, other expenses have trebled, and mineral fertilizers now account for 5-7 times as much expenditure.

So how do you grow grain in West Kazakhstan in the new economic conditions? At first glance it is a simple conclusion: raise purchase prices. Bring them in line with expenditure to ensure expanded reproduction. That is the belief of most of the party and soviet personnel, farm leaders, and grain growers I met with. Most, but not all.

"Subsidies and markups," S. Kozhevnikov said, "are a kind of sop from the state. It has a sedative, corrupting influence on economic managers, gets them out of the habit of thinking. What about producing meat, milk, and wool?

There is experience of this in the region. Before the 9th 5-Year Plan livestock raising on the Uralsk Oblast sovkhoz named for the newspaper PRAVDA was unprofitable. They were producing beef, mutton, and pork. Grain grew every other year. It was no longer ensuring a stable financial position. Then the sovkhoz started raising cattle of the Kazakh white-headed variety. The extensive tracts of land and the energetic construction of buildings made for a rapid increase in the number of head and for the organization of fattening. Now it supplies 2,000 tonnes of first-rate beef every year. The profits from its production exceed R1.4 million.

But animals need feed. The farms we have been talking about have it. The grain area is more or less balanced with the beef area. But what about, for example, the "Zemledelets" Kolkhoz in Isatayskiy Rayon, where livestock are in an emaciated condition when they come to their winter quarters? "If we cut down on grain and sowed wheat grass," farm chairman F. Miller dreamed, we would increase meat and milk production by 50%."

Everyone who goes to Aktyubinsk says that meat and dairy products are freely available. Statistics confirm that this is no accident. For 2 years now the oblast has fulfilled delivery plans and has considerably increased production by improving animal productivity. Of course, they have been laying in more coarse and succulent feed and the nutritional content is higher. The oblast has started to leave more grain forage. Of course, the complete satisfaction of requirements remain a mere dream, but things are starting to move. In 1986 the Khobdinskiy specialized farm, having obtained an average of 6.9 quintals of grain per hectare, incurred a loss of R94,000. At the same time, by selling 1,500 400-kilogram bulls to the state, it "obtained" half a million in profits. But they used 3 quintals of their concentrated feed and 2.2 quintals of bought feed to produce a 1-quintal weight increase.

One cannot understand why the "Prigorodnyy" Sovkhoz annually ships 1,500 tonnes of grain to the elevator, when it uses 2,500 tonnes of grain forage to feed the herd of 6,000 cattle. For the sake of rayon, oblast, and republican reports? But the sovkhoz sells grain at one price and buys the forage at a higher price than usual, thus losing more than R100,000 per year.

S. Kozhevnikov is right; it is necessary to change farm specialization rather than increase purchase prices—you do not produce me meat with the money you get. In zones where conditions allow, commodity grain—strong and durum wheats—should be grown. In zones where it will not grow for love or money, more attention should be paid to forage crops.

"We can and must increase grain production by various methods," L. Pyatkov, Kazakh SSR Gosplan Agroindustrial Complex Department chief, believes. "That includes the use of intensive techniques, increasing the area on which they are used in the republic—currently 5.6 million hectares—to 10 million. But the equipment and material resources are not there."

But why not transfer the fertilizers, herbicides, amd equipment, which are currently allocated on a per-hectare basis and very rarely work in West Kazakhstan, to the regions where they will have a real impact?

"But who is going take up these," Pyatkov used special emphasis, "revolutionary changes—redistribution of resources?"

He was perhaps asking himself the question.

I met with Zh. Karibzhanov, chief of the republican Gosagroprom Main Planning and Economic Development Administration. I learned that while 30% of the farms in the republic were loss-making, the figure for Aktyubinsk Oblast was 50%. There are projects which involve using the normative resources method in planning. But I did not hear any realistic proposals. I. Tsvetkov, Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Agriculture and Food Industry Department chief, also saw higher purchase prices and the establishment of differential rent as the only solution.

I later realized why. Many leaders had provided pretty substantial evidence of how difficult the management process is. That is, they were unanimous about wanting to get rid of the grain burden. But there was hesitation about how to get down in earnest to livestock raising instead. When Uilskiy Rayon was authorized to change the production structure in accordance with the "less grain, more meat" principle, the raykom and the rayispolkom took it up with enthusiasm. But the enthusiasm soon evaporated. But given the right circumstances grain will rescue even the negligent husbandman. Well, anyway, the Main State Insurance Administration will cover 60% of the losses. But livestock raising requires daily attention, daily painstaking labor. Maybe I. Tsvetkov was right: A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush?

Mid-January Weather, Crop Status Report

PM290845 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 26 Jan 88 p 1

[Agrometeorologist N. Korenkova report: "Weather and Crops"]

[Text] It has turned colder in the USSR's eastern territory after a prolonged thaw. The minimum air temperature to the east of a line joining Petrozavodsk, Kazan,

Kuybyshev, and Uralsk ranged from 25 to 35 degrees of frost at the end of the 10-day period. The minimum air temperature in the Baltic, the greater part of the Northwest Region and Belorussia, in Moldavia, the western half of the Ukraine, and in the North Caucasus ranged from 4 to 10 degrees of frost and in the remaining regions from -11° to -20°.

Winter grain crops and perennial grasses were in a state of winter dormancy under a layer of snow. There was no snow in the fields only in Moldavia, the west and southwest of the Ukraine, the south of Krasnodar Kray, Stavropol Kray, the autonomous republics of the North Caucasus, and also in western Latvia and northern Lithuania. However, there was no severe frost here, therefore the soil temperature at winter crop tillering node depth stayed within the range of -2° to -4°. The snow layer was shallow in the remaining territory of the Baltic, the Ukraine, the North Caucasus, and also in the west of the Northwest and Central regions. There is no danger there for winter grain and perennial grass crops. Winter crops in the east of the Northwest, the Central, Central Chernozem, the south of the Volga-Vyatka, and the north of the Volga and Ural Regions are reliably protected by snow.

In the crop farming regions of Siberia the mean air temperature for the 10-day period was 3-5° (and in places in eastern Siberia 6-9° higher than the perennial mean. Considerable frost (from 25-30°) and in places in Irkutsk Oblast as much as 40° was observed on certain nights. Winter grain crops and perennial grasses were under quite a deep layer of snow and their overwintering proceeded successfully. In the first half of the third 10-day period cold weather also prevailed in Siberia.

On the other hand it was mainly warm in the Central Asian republics. For the majority of the 10-day period vegetative activity was noted in winter grain crops. At the end of the 10-day period it grew colder and the vegetative activity ceased. The crops in Kirghizia were in a state of winter dormancy.

Scientific

29 Jan 'Mir' Space Complex Activities Reported

LD291113 Moscow TASS in English 1058 GMT 29 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 29 TASS—A TASS correspondent reports from mission control centre:

As usual, the working day of the Soviet cosmonauts Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov began at 8 a.m. Moscow time. Today's programme of work on board the "Mir" manned complex includes astrophysical and technological experiments and control medical studies.

Observations of a roentgen pulsar in the big Magellan cloud are being continued within the framework of the programme of experiments in extra-atmospheric astonomy. These studies are being conducted with the use of the international orbital observatory "roentgen".

A series of experiments to further study the mechanism of the generation of high energy elementary particles in the radiation belts of the earth and in near-terrestrial space is being conducted with the help of the magnetic spectrometer "Maria".

A regular smelting in the installation "Korund" is being completed under the programme of studying materials in outer space. It was conducted with the aim of obtaining semi-conductor materials with improved characteristics in conditions of microgravitation. Methods of depositing galvanic coatings in space flight conditions will be further tried out using the technological installation "Eri".

In the course of the day Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov will undergo medical checks, one of their purposes being the evaluation of the reaction of the cardio-vascular system to dosed physical loads.

The cosmonauts are feeling well.

Work on the near-terrestrial orbit is proceeding according to programme.

Moscow Reports Growing Incidence of Influenza

LD281535 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 28 Jan 88

[Text] Many of our listeners are interested in whether the influenza epidemic is growing. Professor Ivannikov, deputy head of the All-Union Center for Influenza and Acute Respiratory Illnesses, says the influenza situation does not give rise to alarm as yet. A rise in incidence of influenza and acute respiratory illness has now been noted in nine towns: Moscow, Alma-Ata, Ashkhabad, Ulan-Ude, Chita, Kuybyshev, Voronezh, Tbilisi, and Tashkent. The sluggish growth of incidence of the illness, mass vaccination carried out in the fall, and information from the WHO, give hope that there will be no significant complication of the epidemic situation in our country.